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THE

WORKS

OF

GEORGE BULL, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S,

COLLECTED AND REVISED

BY

THE REV. EDWARD BURTON, M.A.

LATE STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

THE LIFE OF BISHOP BULL,

BY

ROBERT NELSON, ESQ.

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PREFACE.

PREVIOUS to stating the plan and the contents of the present edition of the Works of bishop Bull, some account may be given of the former editions of his works, whether printed separately or collectively.

In 1670 he published at London the *Harmonia Apostolica* in a small 4to. volume. It was reprinted at Basle in 1740. in 8vo.

In 1676 he published at London the *Examen Censuræ* and *Apologia* in one volume 4to.

In 1685 he published at Oxford the *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ* in one volume 4to. It has been reprinted at Amsterdam [a].

In 1694 he published at Oxford the *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, in one volume 8vo.

In 1703 the four preceding works were published at London [b] by John Ernest Grabe, in one volume folio, together with a new tract, *Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio*, &c.

[a] The 9th chapter of the second section is printed at the end of the fourth volume of the Benedictine edition of Origen.

[b] The bishop of Salisbury (in the preface to a work published in the present year) speaks of the university of Oxford having *republished Bull's Harmonia Apostolica with his whole works.* The

In 1705 Dr. George Hickes published a work in two volumes, entitled, *Several Letters which passed between Dr. G. H. and a popish Priest*, &c. In the first volume, p. 225, &c. he inserted a work which was written by Dr. Bull, entitled, *The Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, &c. an account of which may be seen in Nelson's Life of Bull, p. 329. Dr. Hickes observes in his preface, that an imperfect abstract of this work had stolen into print, but that he now published it with the author's consent. I have not been able to meet with this *imperfect abstract*; but in the *History of the Works of the Learned*, 1703, p. 610. I find notice of a book with the following title, *The Wonders of the Bishop of Meaux upon the perusal of Dr. Bull's Book considered and answered*; and it is not improbable, that this is the work alluded to by Dr. Hickes[c]. The *Corruptions of the Church of Rome* had apparently a rapid sale; for I have seen a second edition of it printed in 1707 in 12mo, a third in 1708, and a fourth in 1714 in 8vo. In all these later edi-

bishop probably alluded to Grabe's edition, forgetting that it was printed, not in Oxford, but in London. The *Harmonia Apostolica* was never printed at Oxford till now; and the university never published any edition of Bull's works before the present one.

[c] I have seen notice in a London Catalogue of the *Corruptions of the Church of Rome* bearing date 1697. But this must certainly be a mistake, since Bossuet's letter, which called forth this reply, was not written till 1700.

tions an appendix was added, containing the *Differences between the Churches of England and Rome*, by bishop Cousins, and the Creed of pope Pius IV. The work was also reprinted by Dr. Burgess, the present bishop of Salisbury, in the year 1813;[d] and again in the present year (1827) at the end of a small volume entitled, *A Review and Analysis of Bishop Bull's Exposition of the Doctrine of Justification, by Robert Nelson, esq. extracted from his Life of Bishop Bull.* It was also printed in 1814 in the second volume of the collection of tracts, entitled, *The Churchman armed against the Errors of the Time*, p. 51.

In 1713, when the bishop had been dead nearly three years, Robert Nelson published an edition of his English Works in three volumes 8vo., the title being, *Some important Points of primitive Christianity maintained and defended, in several Sermons and other Discourses*, together with a fourth volume containing his Life. None of these Works had hitherto appeared in print. They consisted of twenty Sermons, four Discourses in English upon

[d] At the end of the same pamphlet was printed what was considered to be an original and unpublished letter of bishop Bull, from the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, N°. 934. article 71, endorsed, "Copy, Mr. Archdeacon Bull's Lr. Jan. 1705." But it is evident, by an inspection of the letter, that it was not written by bishop Bull, but by his son, who was made archdeacon when his father was elected bishop in 1705, and the date of this letter should be 170$\frac{5}{6}$, i. e. 1706.

different subjects, and a fifth Discourse written in Latin, entitled, *Breves Animadversiones in Tractatum Gilberti Clerke*, of which there is also an English translation, apparently made by Nelson. The work had a rapid sale, and a second edition of the Life was published in 1714. All the four volumes may be found with title-pages of this date; but upon inspection it will appear, that the volume containing the Life was the only one which was reprinted [e]. Some few alterations were made in the second edition. A difference will be found at p. 53; but as far as p. 406. the two editions were made exactly to correspond in their pages; in this place there is a slight alteration about the burial of Dr. Grabe, and from hence to the end the paging is different. This edition was reprinted at Oxford by Baxter, in 1816, in three volumes 8vo.; but the editor appears not to have been aware that the Life of Bull had been published in 1714 as well as in 1713, and he printed from the latter; consequently the alterations, which had been introduced in the second edition, are not found in the reprint made at Oxford [f].

[e] I have seen notice in London Catalogues of the works of Bull in three volumes 1719, and in two volumes 1725. If there is no mistake in these dates, the former copy had probably only a new title-page; but the mention of *two volumes* is unquestionably wrong. All the three volumes of Nelson's edition were paged throughout, and could not be separated.

[f] Copious extracts from Nelson's Life of Bull have been printed by the bishop of Salisbury in the work already mentioned, page v.

In 1714 a volume in small 8vo. was published in London, entitled, *A Companion for the Candidates of Holy Orders; or, the great Importance and principal Duties of the priestly Office;* the contents of which were a Visitation Sermon by bishop Bull[g], together with his Charge to his Diocese[h], and his Circular Letter to the Clergy[i]. This volume probably was not in such great demand as was expected; for I have seen a book bearing date 1715, and entitled, *The Archbishop of Cambray's pastoral Letter, concerning the Love of God, together with the Opinions of the Fathers on the same Subject: to which is added a circular Letter by George Bull, D. D. late Lord Bishop of St. David's, his Visitation Sermon, and his Charge to his Diocese; published by Robert Nelson, Esq.* These tracts of bishop Bull are the same which compose the *Companion for the Candidates of holy Orders;* and they were not reprinted in 1715, but the identical book, which had been published separately in 1714, was now bound up with the archbishop of Cambray's Letter; and we learn from the title-page of the latter work that Nelson was the editor. These three tracts of bishop Bull have been printed several times in Oxford at the Clarendon press, in *The Clergyman's Instructor.*

[g] Published in vol. I. p. 137. of this edition.
[h] Published in vol. II. p. 17.
[i] Published in the Life, p. 377.

In 1719 Robert Bull, son of the bishop, published at London in one volume 8vo. *A Vindication of the Church of England from the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of Rome.* This treatise was written by his father, and found by accident, as stated in the preface[k]. Some copies of it may be seen with the date of 1724; but they evidently belong to the same edition, and the only real alteration was a new title-page.

In 1721, the folio volume, which Grabe had edited, containing the Latin works of Bull, was reprinted at London, by Bowyer, in rather a smaller size. The Latin tract against G. Clerke, which had been first published by Nelson in 1713, was introduced into this edition.

The second and third Sermons were published in 1765 by Leonard Chappellow, B. D. (See vol. I. p. 82. of this edition.)

It may be added, that some of the bishop's Latin works have been translated into English. I have already mentioned, that the tract against G. Clerke was translated by Nelson, and published by him in English as well as Latin in 1713.

In 1725, the three treatises concerning the Trinity, which were published by Grabe in his folio volume, were translated by the rev. Francis Holland in two volumes 8vo.; and either a new edition, or

[k] See Life of Bull, p. 66.

(what is more probable) a new title-page was put forth in 1730.

In 1801 the *Harmonia Apostolica* was translated by Wilkinson; and the book bore the title of *Harmonia Apostolica, or the Agreement of Paul and James.*

In 1825 a translation of the *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ* was published by the rev. T. Rankin in one volume, 8vo. London.

These are all the publications of bishop Bull's works which I have been able to meet with, or of which I have seen any account; and the object of the present edition is to bring together all his original works which have ever appeared. It will have been observed from the statement given above, that this has never yet been done. Bowyer's reprint of Grabe's edition contains all the Latin treatises; and the collection of the English Works, made by Nelson, is the only one which has yet been undertaken; but Nelson did not print the *Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, and he had not seen the *Vindication of the Church of England.* Both these treatises will be found in the present edition.

The elaborate Life of Bull, written by Nelson, has also been reprinted, and forms a separate volume. I have added whatever additional notices could be found concerning the bishop[1], but I have

[1] The principal additions consist of some extracts from the Life of John Roberts, a quaker, p. 69, &c. and an original letter

nowhere altered the words of Nelson, or corrected his statements. Whatever new matter is introduced, will be found in the notes inclosed in brackets [ ]; and throughout the whole of this edition the plan has been followed of marking every additional annotation in this manner. At the end of the Life I have added an Index of the principal persons and things therein mentioned; to which I have prefixed in one page a list of the most important events in the bishop's life, marking the year in which they happened, and the page in which they are mentioned.

Every thing that Nelson published in his three volumes will be found in the first two volumes of this edition, excepting the fourth Discourse, which contains the tract against G. Clerke. This being written in Latin, is placed at the end of the Latin works[m]; and though the next and last Discourse thus becomes the fourth in the present edition, it is still called the fifth, as it was in Nelson's arrangement. It not being my intention to publish any translations of the original writings, I have omitted Nelson's English version of the fourth Discourse altogether. The first volume contains the twenty Sermons: the second volume contains the four Dis-

from Bull to Nelson, p. 326. which is preserved in the British Museum.

[m] Bowyer has preceded me in this arrangement; but he gave the second place to the tract against G. Clerke, for which there seems no reason: I have printed it last of all.

courses, the *Vindication of the Church of England*, and the *Corruptions of the Church of Rome*.

The four last volumes, i. e. the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, contain the Latin works. A different order has been observed from that which was adopted by Grabe. He gave the first place to the three works upon the Trinity, probably as thinking them of higher importance than the *Harmonia Apostolica*, &c. But since it is always desirable to preserve a chronological order in editing an author's works, I have exactly reversed this arrangement. The third and fourth volumes contain the *Harmonia Apostolica*, and the two works connected with it, the *Examen Censuræ* and *Apologia*; the fifth and sixth volumes contain the treatises upon the doctrine of the Trinity. The *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ* occupies the whole of the fifth volume [n]; the *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, the *Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio*, and the tract against G. Clerke, occupy the sixth.

In printing the Sermons and Discourses, I care-

[n] This volume consists of 813 pages; and if the thickness of it should be thought inconvenient, it may easily be divided into two: the first part would contain the first and second sections of the work, making a volume of 472 pages; the second part would contain the third and fourth sections, making a volume of 341 pages. It is to be regretted, that the works of bishop Bull do not admit of being divided into volumes of a more uniform size; but it has been thought, that the inconvenience of having part of a treatise in one volume, and part in another, would be much greater than that of having the volumes of unequal size.

fully collated the sheets, as they passed through the press, with the original edition published by Nelson; by which means some errors have been removed, which were introduced into the Oxford edition of 1816. The work entitled *Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, as stated above, has been reprinted several times; but upon comparing the later editions with the first and authentic one published by Hickes in 1705, several alterations and mistakes will be discovered. I have followed the first edition implicitly, except where the references were manifestly wrong. The *Vindication of the Church of England* had only been printed once before: I could therefore only copy that edition, which in some places appears to be inaccurate; and the original work was evidently written by the bishop in a hasty and careless manner. At the end of the second volume an Index will be found of the principal matters referred to in the first two volumes. Nelson published an index to the English works edited by himself, the substance of which will be found in the present one; but the reader, who compares the two, will find that which is now printed to be much more full, and to embrace many more subjects, though the separate articles may be expressed in fewer words. It also comprises the two treatises which Nelson did not publish; and I have added a list of the texts of Scripture referred to or explained in the two volumes of the English works.

In printing the Latin works, I made use of the folio edition published by J. E. Grabe in 1703; but as the sheets passed through the press, I collated them with the original editions, which had been published separately by Bull. No person, who is without experience in these matters, could imagine the numerous corrections, which it thus became requisite to make. The *Harmonia Apostolica* published by Bull in 1670 is perhaps the most scandalously printed book that ever issued from the press; and in a notice to the reader at the end he himself deplores the *portenta typographica*, which had been caused by his not being able to correct the sheets himself. Grabe evidently took great pains in preparing his own edition; and it may be said with truth, that he had to alter the text or the pointing in some hundreds of places. The MS. sent by Bull to the press, was probably not without some serious faults[o]. Grammatical errors occasionally occur, which could hardly have been introduced by the printer; and these in almost every instance have been tacitly corrected by Grabe. There are cases, however, in which he altered Bull's Latinity without any sufficient reason. The indicative is frequently put for the subjunctive, and the subjunctive for the indica-

[o] In the postscript to the reader, at p. 315, of vol. III. and in the preface to the Examen Censuræ, vol. IV. p. iv. Bull speaks of his handwriting, when he was in a hurry, being extremely bad, and almost illegible to himself.

tive, where either might be allowed to stand. Bull was in the habit of writing *priori* and *posteriori* in the ablative, which Grabe altered to *priore* and *posteriore*. In the same manner he changed *analysim*, *hypothesim*, *hæresim*, &c. into *analysin*, *hypothesin*, *hæresin*, &c.; and where Bull wrote *non mihi latet*, Grabe substituted the more usual form *non me latet*. Many more instances of this kind might be given, in which it cannot be said, that Grabe discharged the office of a faithful editor. It may be indifferent which form of construction or of spelling we adopt, or Grabe's method may have been the best: but if we wish to know what rule was followed by writers of Latin at any particular period, and if the authority of bishop Bull is to be quoted, it is evident, that we must consult his original editions, and not the reprints which have been altered and corrected. In these cases, and wherever the original edition was not grammatically wrong, I have wished to restore Bull's own words; and by collating the two editions together, I venture to hope, that the work is now published much more accurately than it was by Grabe[p].

[p] In some instances I am afraid that I have been misled by Grabe, and too hastily adopted his alterations. Thus in the preface to the *Harmonia Apostolica*, p. viii. line 10. and in the *Examen Censuræ*, p. 73, line 15. Bull coupled *antidotum* with a feminine adjective. Grabe altered the adjective to the neuter; and so it is printed in the present edition. But I have since observed, that

The corrections which I have made, by consulting the first edition of the *Harmonia Apostolica*, are much too numerous to specify; but as an instance of the use of this collation, I would refer the reader to vol. III. p. 216. line 24, where the words *ante et citra omnem vocationem divinam* were omitted by Grabe; and as an instance, where one or two letters may make a difference in the meaning, I would refer to p. 271, line 9, where instead of *faciliora*, Grabe's edition has *facilia*.

Grabe added Annotations of his own at the end of some of the chapters. These are not always of much importance; and his Latin style was much less easy and perspicuous than that of Bull. They are printed in the present edition, and in a smaller type than the work itself. I have also preserved all the notes, which Grabe added in the margin or at the bottom of the page of his own edition, marking them with his own name, that they may be distinguished from those of the bishop. Grabe omitted to make this distinction. At the end of the volume he published an Index of the principal matters referred to, and also a list of the texts of Scripture which are quoted. Instead of reprinting this Index, I have constructed

writers of Bull's day considered the nominative to be *antidotus* (feminine) not *antidotum*. It is so used by Bacon (de Augm. Scient. in init.) and there are ancient authorities for it. Bull himself wrote *antidotus* in his *Judicium Eccl. Cathol.* p. 158, of this edition, which was altered by Grabe to *antidotum*.

a new one, which I trust will be found more convenient, as well as more complete. Grabe noted the contents of all the Latin works in one Index; but I have thought it better to separate the treatises upon Justification from those upon the Trinity: I have therefore placed an Index at the end of the fourth volume, which refers to the *Harmonia Apostolica*, *Examen Censuræ*, and *Apologia;* and another at the end of the sixth volume, which refers to all the works concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. Having made my own Index, I compared it with that of Grabe, and introduced whatever I had omitted, except where the matter appeared not to require such notice. The list of texts referred to in these volumes will also be found more complete. Since Grabe's folio edition is that which is in most general use, and to which reference is most frequently made by writers who have alluded to Bull's works, I have preserved in the margin of this edition the numbers of the pages as they stood in Grabe's edition.

The *Examen Censuræ* and *Apologia* were printed almost as inaccurately in the first edition as the *Harmonia Apostolica;* and Grabe appears to have become still more bold in altering the text according to his own fancy. He has also omitted not a few words which are material to the sense. Some notion may be formed of the arbitrary changes, which he introduced, by the following specimen:

List of words altered by Grabe in the Examen Censuræ and Apologia.

P. 5. l. 6. huic ausui *altered to* hoc ausu
16. 14. disseruissem - - - - disserui
27. 17. pronuntiaverit - - - pronuntiavit
56. 12. authoris sui - - - authori suo
78. 17. apiscatur - - - - - adipiscatur
85. 19. ὁμογενὲς - - - - - - ὁμογενοῦς
135. 31. potes erunt - - - - poterunt
143. 17. descripserim - - - - descripsi
150. 7. insistere - - - - - ingredi
203. 15. disputatione - - - - dissertatione
216. 3. lectoris - - - - - doctoris
234. 24. instituatur - - - - - institutus sit
267. 21. erant - - - - - fuerint
467. 3. meo - - - - - - mea

The above list contains a very small proportion of the words and phrases altered by Grabe. They occur in almost every page. The words which he has omitted are also numerous, as may be seen by the following specimen.

Words omitted by Grabe in the Examen Censuræ and Apologia.

P. 7. l. 24. meum
9. 5. fidem
27. 25. divinum
44. 25. omni
66. 7. peccatoris
75. 16. evangelicæ
122. 4. illius
163. 16. si eodem plane modo
290. 15. articuli
330. 9. est omnis
454. 5. serio

In these instances we might be inclined to accuse Grabe of carelessness; but whoever consults the original edition, and observes how much we are indebted to him for purifying the text, will make great allowances for these omissions. In the same manner we must excuse his not having always attended to the corrections which were pointed out by Bull himself in the table of *errata*. Thus at p. 53, line 19, Grabe printed *Animadvers.* IV. though the table of *errata* states that IV. should be altered to III. So also at p. 174, line 1, we are directed to alter *quintum* to *sextum*, but Grabe suffered *quintum* to remain. At p. 178, line 7, the word *liberemur* is essential to the passage, and though it was omitted in the original edition, the omission is noted among the *errata*. Grabe, however, neglected to supply it. At p. 330, line 29, the word *contumelia* was omitted, and the mistake is corrected among the *errata;* Grabe, however, introduced *injuria* instead of *contumelia*. A similar instance of carelessness occurs at p. 426, line 22. where Grabe has followed the original edition in omitting the word *vixerunt*, though it is supplied in the table of *errata*. But the most extraordinary instance of inadvertence occurs at p. 363, line 14, where are the words " Diss. Post. XVIII. 9." Bull had only printed " Diss. Post. cap. XVIII." and in the table of *errata* we find " Post. cap. XVIII. ad: parag. 9." the meaning of which is very plain; but Grabe took *ad*

or the preposition, and actually printed "Diss. Post. cap. XVIII. *ad* paragraph. 9." It may be mentioned also, that at p. 175 Bull quotes a passage from his *Harmonia Apostolica*, and in his own edition he misplaced the words *Jacobo* and *Paulo* in lines 17 and 19, by which means the sense of the passage is destroyed. Grabe did not observe the transposition, and suffered it to remain.

The *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ* was printed at the Sheldonian press in Oxford, and, as might be expected, is greatly superior in correctness to the two former volumes, which had been published in London. It may be pronounced, upon the whole, to be not an inelegant specimen of typography, though the *errata* are much more numerous than would be found in any book which issued from the university press in these days. The bishop laments this fact in his preface, and partly explains the cause by informing us that he was not personally present to superintend the printing, and that he only corrected the last sheet. It may be observed, however, that the peculiarities of the bishop's expressions, and of his Latin style, are not so perceptible in the works which he published at Oxford, as in those which were printed so inaccurately in London. In the latter place the printers might mistake his handwriting, and introduce numerous *errata;* but to alter his Latinity, and substitute common for uncommon phrases, greatly exceeded their powers. It

is evident that these alterations were made by the Oxford printers. In the *Harmonia Apostolica* and *Examen Censuræ* his orthography and phraseology were uniform; in the *Defensio* we occasionally meet with the same peculiarities, but in most cases they have been corrected[q]. Grabe took the liberty of changing Bull's expressions in a great variety of instances. The following are some of the most remarkable alterations.

P. 35. l. 13. attenti quietique *altered to* attente quieteque
101. 16. illud *altered to* aliud
110. 10. ὁμουσίων *altered to* ὁμούσιον
149. 28. jam *altered to* jam jam
167. 30 quemadmodum *altered to* uti
214. 22. antiquissimus *altered to* antiquus
259. 10. γενητὸς καὶ ἀγένητος *altered to* γενητὸς καὶ ἀγένητος
309. 25. ut *altered to* quam
320. 4. discidium *altered to* dissidium. So also at p. 681. l. 22.
321. 4. apud ipsum vel pro subsistentia vel pro re singulari *altered to* apud ipsum pro subsistentia, i. e. pro re singulari

[q] The bishop, as observed above, wrote *heresim*, *hypostasin*, &c. and we find the words printed thus in the former part of the volume: but toward the end they are changed to *heresin*, *hypostasin*, &c. He was in the habit of using a dative case after *inferior*, and so we find it in a few cases in this volume; but much more frequently the ablative has been substituted. The MS. of the answer to G. Clerke, which is preserved in the Bodleian, and which was written not long before the bishop's death, proves that he had not himself altered his Latin style, but that these liberties were taken with his composition at the university press.

P. 407. l. 25. tertium, ultimum, cavillum, expediendum; *altered to* tertius, ultimus, cavillus, expediendus

464. 26. Se *altered to* sed.—*Sic* is inserted after *prævaricationem*

519. 6. renitentibus *altered to* retinentibus

541. 15. in responsionibus ad Pauli quæstiones Epistolæ subjectis *altered to* in responsione ad Pauli quæstiones Epistolæ subjectas

640. 17. qui *altered to* quæ

696. 4. nisi - - - - - si

6. excipit - - - accipit

706. 30. ad Tryphonem *altered to* cum Tryphone

728. 4. Zenonis *altered to* Zenoni

785. 9. divisa - - - - - divisas

I have taken no notice of the many instances in which the tenses have been altered, and the list might have been greatly increased by other examples. It may be mentioned also, that at p. 656, line 24, Bull by mistake wrote *Valentinianos* for *Praxean*, which was not corrected by Grabe; but a list of the words which Grabe omitted will afford the strongest proof of his inaccuracy as an editor.

List of words omitted by Grabe in the Defensio Fidei Nicænæ.

P. 35. l. 10. illud, Ubi es?

71. 21. et

116. 5. et

214. penult. Cypriani

227. 24. ipso

244. 2. persona

245. 7. omniumque

256. 6. obscuri

295. 26. Dei

327. 19. sic

P. 355. l. 17. non
424. note [m]. quicquam
566. l. 5. est *after* aliquo
604. 18. Filius
612. penult. absurdi
620. 13. suo
710. 25. nonnullis
722. 7. nunc
724. 9. mox
765. 5. Deo
798. 25. ad
804. 24. germana
806. 6. se contulisse; atque ab ipsis, se quoque catholicos

The *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ* was also printed at the Sheldonian press in Oxford; and is a better specimen of typography than the *Defensio*; the errors are fewer, and Grabe has been rather more sparing in his alterations. He has however omitted some words of importance, and altered others without any reason; as the following list will shew.

Words altered by Grabe in the Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ.

P. 15. l. 26. hominem *altered to* homines
39. 4. transfigere - - - - transfixisse
— 18. qui - - - - - quod
52. 25. sileant - - - - - sileam
56. 2. quod - - - - - quoniam
59. 6. ut - - - - - quod
87. 4. catechetis - - - - catechetæ
114. 4. Christus - - - - - Christi
— 6. quia - - - - - quod
158. 32. antidotus - - - - - antidotum
199. 2. poterat ipsos - - - potuisset istos

I have here taken little or no notice of the altera-

tion of moods and tenses, of which many instances might be given. The following words were omitted by Grabe, but have been restored in the present edition.

P. 33. l. 8. ipsi vero credentes, legique
— 11. putum
34. 14. dum
43. 2. fuisse
— 4. demum
219. 9. puto

It has been mentioned above, that the tract entitled *Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio, &c.* was printed for the first time by Grabe in his folio edition; so that we cannot ascertain what alterations or omissions were made in this work; and not having any other edition to compare it with, I have carefully followed that which was printed by Grabe.

It has been mentioned also, that the tract against Gilbert Clerke, which forms the last in this edition, was first printed by Nelson in 1713, and was afterwards added by Bowyer in his reprint of Grabe's edition in 1721. The original MS. (alluded to by Nelson, Life, p. 426.) is in the collection of Grabe's papers now preserved in the Bodleian library. At the end there is a small part of it in the bishop's own handwriting[a]. I have collated the MS. as accurately as I could, both before the sheets were printed, and as they passed through the press; by

[a] This begins at the 28th section, page 404 of this edition, and continues to the end.

which means I have been able to restore some readings which were altered. I have also consulted the work entitled Antenicenismus, written by Clerke, to which this tract was intended as an answer; and I have thus been able to correct some of the quotations which Bull transcribed hastily, and which Nelson does not appear to have verified with the original work. The following is a list of the inaccuracies which appear in Nelson's edition.

P. 368. l. 28. cum *Nelson printed* tum
369. 4. confiteatur - - - - - - confiteantur
— 8. hæc - - - - - - - - hac
370. 4. quidem - - - - - - - - quidam
— 29. quem - - - - - - - - quam
371. 12. magistro - - - - - - - - magis
374. 8. quamque - - - - - - - - quamquam
376. 9. verba - - - - - - - - verbo
— 27. respectu non personæ sed *Nelson printed* respectu personæ non
389. 18. paternæ *Nelson printed* paterna.
393. 5. gentes - - - - - - - - - gentiles
396. 26. quam - - - - - - - - - quem
— 28. hujus nodi - - - - - - - - hujusmodi
398. 14. invisibilitatem - - - - - indivisibilitatem.
399. 30. viris - - - - - - - - - veris
404. 26. geminis - - - - - - - - - genuinis
— ult. itidem - - - - - - - - - ibidem
406. 12. omnino *is omitted*
408. 6. Hine *Nelson printed* Hinc.

In this list I have not taken notice of errors which are merely typographical, and of which there are not a few. I have divided the tract into sections for the convenience of reference. In the original MS. there

are no such sections marked; but the paragraphs are divided exactly as they are printed in this edition, and nothing has been added but the numbers.

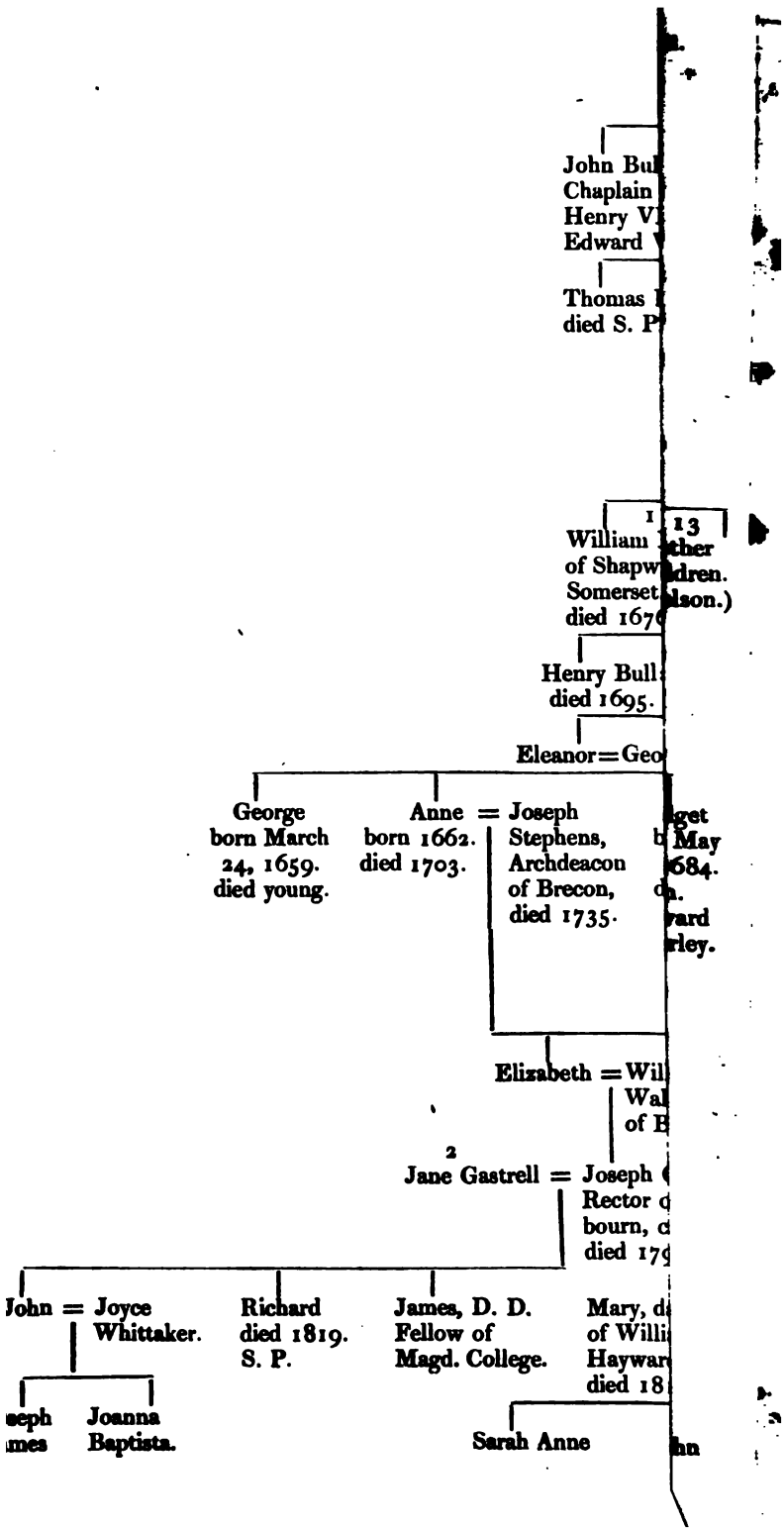
When Bowyer reprinted Grabe's edition in 1721, he added a few notes, principally to state the period in which each of the Fathers lived or their works were published. Nothing is said by him concerning the author of these notes; indeed they are almost exclusively taken from Cave. I have printed them all in this edition, marking them with the name of Bowyer.

The principal object which I have had in view, and it is that which has caused by far the greatest portion of labour, was to verify the quotations and references made by Bull. The bishop appears in almost every instance to have consulted the best editions of the Fathers which were extant in his days. But I need not observe, that since that time there have been better editions of nearly all the Fathers. With the exception of Arnobius, the two Cyrils, Methodius, Photius, Theodoret, and perhaps one or two more, there are none which the Benedictine editors or others have not enabled us to read in a much more correct and perfect form. In every instance it has been my intention to consult the original passage as quoted by Bull, and to add the reference to the best edition. It is plain that Bull very often made mistakes in transcribing passages; and what person, who undertook such an

Herculean task, would not do the same? We know also, that he was in the habit of going to Oxford annually to consult the libraries there[s]. Upon these occasions he probably made large extracts from those works, which his own limited income did not allow him to possess; so that when he wrote out his works for the press, instead of being able to verify his quotations with the printed copy, they were in fact a transcript from a transcript. His own handwriting also, as has been already observed, was extremely bad; so that upon the whole we need not be surprised to find several mistakes in his quotations.

The plan which I have followed in correcting the quotations is this: Whenever the mistake is obviously one of inattention, or where a reading, which is indisputably the true one, has been printed in a later edition, I have made the correction without noticing it. These instances indeed are so numerous, that to mention them all would be endless as well as unnecessary. But when Bull was likely to have known of two or more readings, and adopted one of them, or where the reading of later editors is only a matter of conjecture or of judgment, I have not altered Bull's quotation of the passage, but have stated the different reading in a note. It has been my endeavour to verify all his quotations, not only from the works of the Fathers, but from every other

[s] Life, p. 36.


John Bul
Chaplain
Henry V
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William
of Shapw
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13
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Henry Bull
died 1695.
Eleanor = Geo
George
born March
24, 1659.
died young.
Anne
born 1662.
died 1703.
= Joseph
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of Brecon,
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died 17
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Richard
died 1819.
S. P.
James, D. D.
Fellow of
Magd. College.
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writer ancient and modern; and I should perhaps not be saying too much when I state, that the text, as printed by Grabe, has been corrected for the present edition in some hundred instances; which I mention, in the hope that persons who are acquainted with this sort of labour will make excuse for wrong references, and other inaccuracies, which may appear in this edition.

At the end of the last volume will be found a list of the Fathers and other writers whose works are quoted by Bull. I have added the year in which each of them is supposed to have lived, together with the latest and best editions of their works. It has been my intention to make my own references in every instance to the best editions.

Subsequent to the printing of Nelson's Life of Bull for this edition, I have met with a pedigree of the family of Bull in the Ashmolean museum, and have received another, containing some additions, from the Heralds' College. They begin in the reign of Henry VIII. and come down to the father of the bishop. The registers of Siddington and Avening have supplied the names of the bishop's children, and by information derived from his present descendants, I have been able to bring the pedigree down to our own times.

It is stated by Nelson, (Life, p. 407.) that the bishop had eleven children; the parish registers give

the names of twelve, as is seen in the pedigree; and since many of them died young, the omission may easily be explained. Nelson also states that only two of the bishop's children survived him; these were Robert and Bridget. The pedigree confirms the death of all the others, excepting Richard, of whom I am not able to give any account. In a note at p. 407, I have quoted Jones the historian of Brecknockshire, as thinking that one of the bishop's younger sons settled at Kington, from whom the Bulls of Durfield were descended. This may probably have been Richard. It appears from the register at Siddington, that Richard Bull was buried there Nov. 27, 1740; but whether this was the same Richard, son of the bishop, must remain uncertain. It also appears that Anne Bull was buried at Siddington, July 16, 1742: this was not the eldest daughter of the bishop; for she was married to archdeacon Stephens, and died in 1703. We may infer therefore, that some of the bishop's family continued to reside at Siddington after he quitted it.

To many readers these minute points of genealogical discussion may have little interest; but some of those, who have studied and admired the writings of bishop Bull, will perhaps agree in thinking that every thing connected with the personal history of such a man is worth preserving. His friend and biographer Nelson has left little to be collected in this way by any succeeding editor; but it has not per-

haps been generally known, that so many persons are still living who are descended from this great and good man; of whom it may be truly said, that the church of Christ is as deeply indebted to bishop Bull for the lasting monuments of his learning and his zeal, as to any of her sons who have defended her from the open or secret enemy, and traced her unbroken descent from those pure and apostolical times when the faith was once delivered to the saints.

E. B.

THE

LIFE

OF

GEORGE BULL, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S,

WITH

THE HISTORY OF THOSE CONTROVERSIES IN WHICH HE WAS ENGAGED;

AND

AN ABSTRACT OF THOSE FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES WHICH HE MAINTAINED AND DEFENDED IN THE LATIN TONGUE.

BY ROBERT NELSON, ESQ.

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THE LIF

THE

LIFE

OF

DR GEORGE BULL,

BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

THE INTRODUCTION.

WHEN the reverend Mr. Robert Bull proposed to me the publishing the following sermons and other discourses, which his father, the late lord bishop of St. David's, had ordered to be printed after his death; I thought myself upon several accounts obliged to comply with his request, and therefore was too easily overcome by his importunity: for I had maintained a long and intimate friendship with his lordship, which gave me an opportunity of being acquainted with his solid and substantial worth; I had frequently sat at his feet as he was a preacher, and as often felt the force of those distinguishing talents which enabled him to shine in the pulpit; but above all, I had preserved a grateful remembrance of those advantages which I had received from him in my education, part whereof was committed to his care and direction [a].

The occasion of writing this Life.

[a] [Nelson was educated first at St. Paul's school, but was taken from thence by his mother to live with her at Dryfield, near Cirencester. Bull was at that time rector of Suddington, a neighbouring village, and went to Mrs. Nelson's house to instruct her son.]

An apology for attempting it.

I am very sensible that this engagement will carry me into a difficult province; and it may be thought too presumptuous for a person no better qualified than myself, to venture to speak of so great a prelate, so famous abroad for his elaborate and judicious writings, and so valued at home for his unfeigned piety and profound learning. To those that shall urge this I have nothing to reply, but that friendship and gratitude are not always governed by the most cautious measures; that the desire to do justice to those we love, frequently concealeth from us the danger of such an undertaking, and throws a veil over those snares which hazard the success of the performance. And therefore I hope the sense of obligation, and the zeal which I have for the memory of so pious and learned a friend, which moved me to this assurance in writing, will serve something for my excuse, and help to shelter me from that censure which otherways I might justly deserve.

His reputation secured by his own works.

It must be owned that the lives of great and excellent men require skilful and faithful pens; that the exactness and truth of their characters may be adorned with all purity, force, and propriety of style; and that the writer should be animated with a portion of that genius which made the person, he draws for the knowledge and imitation of posterity, famous in his generation. But the reputation of our author hath received so great a brightness from his own pen, that it needs no auxiliary light to increase its lustre; and his character is so secure from his own works, the immortal monuments of his true worth, that I am the less concerned for my own inability to embalm his memory; especially since I

hope the weight and importance of the matter, will make some amends for those defects that may arise from the manner of handling it. But besides, if he had been silent in his lifetime, yet being dead he still speaketh with so much clearness and strength of reason; with so masterly a knowledge in his own profession, the best of studies; with such an affecting pathos, that impresseth it upon the minds of others; and, above all, with such an inward sense of piety and devotion, the true Christian unction, in those sermons and discourses which are now published, that the world would not have been at a loss to have framed a just idea of this consummate divine, if these remains had been the only works of his which were to have been conveyed down to posterity.

Why it may be acceptable to learned and good men.

I hope I may presume that this undertaking will not be altogether unacceptable to the learned, because it attempteth to gratify a curiosity which prevaileth much, and is nourished among them; whereby they are prompted to search for and inquire after the minutest circumstances, that relate to such authors who are no otherways known to them, than by those learned works they have left behind them. And I promise myself that good men will not be wanting in that candour which is essential to their character, and which inclineth them to be favourable to all attempts of this nature; because they freely allow that it is but just that the memory of the servants of God should be preserved in the church; not only that their names may be mentioned with honour, and that they may be had in everlasting remembrance; but that their virtues may remain upon record to provoke others to love and good works. For as it is esteemed a piece of

respect to commit their bodies to the grave with the decency at least, if not with the pomp, of a funeral; and yet further to perpetuate their memories by the magnificence of monuments, and the eloquence of inscriptions, though all this serveth chiefly to cover the frightfulness of mortality; so the same charity and respect oblige us to set their virtuous and pious actions in a clear light, that we may discover the beauty and brightness of them, in order the better to reverence them, as well as to direct our own steps. It being very reasonable that we should not be more solicitous to bury them with honour, than we are to make them rise in ourselves by remembrance and imitation.

Reasons for the length of it.

What I apprehend will carry this Life to a greater length than I at first imagined, is the history of those important controversies in which our learned author was engaged; and the abstract of those fundamental doctrines which he hath, with great perspicuity of style and matter, delivered in the language of the learned. The particulars that relate to the first certainly come in as a part of his Life; and the other was necessary to be attempted, that those readers, whose knowledge is confined to their own language, might have a truer notion of the capacity and genius of that reverend prelate, whose Life I am about to write, and therefore I hope I have a just title to their pardon for the length of it. And so, beseeching God to enable me to finish what I begin in his name, and dedicate to his honour and glory, I shall proceed to the subject I have undertaken.

I. DR. GEORGE BULL, the late learned bishop of St. David's, was born in the parish of St. Cuthbert at Wells, in the county of Somerset, on the twenty-fifth of March, 1634, being the feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin. So that the place and day where he first saw the light were very remarkable: the one for being a bishop's seat, and giving title to the see near two hundred years before the denomination of Bath was added, and procured precedency in the style; the other for being distinguished among the greatest festivals in the Christian calendar, if we consider it not only as instituted in honour of the Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord, whom all generations are to call *blessed*, but as it related to the incarnation of the Son of God, the Saviour of the world. And it so fell out by the disposition of Providence, that this learned man lived to adorn both the subjects of this festival; the latter in his admirable defence of the Nicene faith, and the former in that excellent sermon of the following collection, which asserteth and vindicateth those great privileges and excellencies, which were the blessed Virgin's peculiar honour and ornament. 1634. When and where Mr. Bull was born.

His descent was from an ancient family of very good note among the gentry in Somersetshire, where they have a very handsome seat, and a very fair and large estate at Shapwick in the said county. His father, Mr. George Bull, was second son of William Bull, esq. who had ten sons and eight daughters; so that by reason the family was so numerous, he was bred to a trade in Wells, and became a principal member in that corporation. The settling him in the world after this manner was very much against His family and parentage.

1634. his own desire; which carried him towards a learned education, which he designed the rather that he might become particularly serviceable to the church of God; but the choice of his parents determined him another way, in which he succeeded much better than they ordinarily do, who engage against the bent of their inclinations. The direct male line of this ancient family being now extinct [b], the estate is devolved upon Mrs. Eleanor Doddington, sole heiress of Henry Bull, esq. of Shapwick, and wife of George Doddington, esq. who is member of parliament for the borough of Bridgwater, and was one of the late lords commissioners of the admiralty. By this it appears that Mr. Bull was by extraction a gentleman, an advantage which he the less wanted, because he was engaged in a profession, which is not only highly honourable in itself, but conferreth greater degrees of honour on those who are the best born. And let the family be never so conspicuous, the learning and piety of any branch of it addeth more to its true lustre and glory, than it is capable of giving by any blood it can convey.

He was early dedicated to the service of the church.

It may not be amiss to observe here, that Mr. Bull was dedicated to the service of the church at the same time that he was made a member of it; for his father declared at the font, that he intended him for holy orders. In which he was the more zealous, by reason of the disappointment he had met with himself from the fixed resolutions of his parents, who would never comply with his earnest and repeated desires of being made a clergyman. But this good

[b] [In Shapwick church there are monuments to many of the family: the latest is that of Henry Bull, son of William and Joanna Bull, who died in 1751.]

man did not live to see his pious design put in execution; for dying when his son George was but four years old, he could not have made one step in that education which was necessary to qualify his son for the service of the altar. I venture to call him a good man, because the memory that is still preserved of him representeth him as a person that was very conscientious in his dealings, and very pious towards God; and when he left off his trade, which he was never well pleased with, because it diverted him from holy orders, which he chiefly coveted, he gave considerable charities to the poor; and after having been twice mayor of the city of Wells, became a benefactor to the corporation. But though his father left several daughters, yet George was his only son, who was committed to the care and tuition of guardians by his father's last will, with an estate of 200*l.* per annum, which had a rent-charge upon it of near 50*l.* a year, payable to his father's widow, who was his mother-in-law; for his own mother[c] died soon after he was born. Thus by the providence of God, and the care of a good parent, he was enabled to support the charge of a liberal education, which many famous men have obtained with great difficulty, and not without the assistance of persons charitably disposed; and what good use he made of such an advantage, we may be instructed from the ensuing passages of his life. 1638.

II. When he was fit to receive the first rudiments of learning, he was placed in a grammar-school at Wells, where he continued not long; but by the Educated at Tiverton school in Devonshire.

[c] [Her maiden name was Elizabeth Perkyns. *Wood.*]

1634. care of his guardians was to great advantage removed to the free-school of Tiverton in Devonshire, of the greatest note of any in the west of England. This school was founded by Mr. Peter Blundel, a clothier, in the year 1604, with a very good maintenance for a schoolmaster and usher, and is not more considerable for its liberal endowment, than it is for its stately and noble structure. There are 150 of the foundation; and if that number cannot be supplied from the town and parish of Tiverton itself, which seldom furnisheth above half so many, then the adjacent places have the advantage of providing the rest; for the scholars generally rather exceed than fall short of the prescribed complement. It hath the privilege of sending two fellows and two scholars to Balliol college in Oxford, and the same number of both to Sidney college in Cambridge, which are chose here, and incorporated afterwards into the respective societies in the universities. An encouragement wisely contrived to preserve the school in honour and reputation, and experience confirmeth the observation; for it not only flourisheth at present, but hath made the most considerable figure of any in that part of the nation ever since its first foundation.

An account and character of his master.

Mr. Samuel Butler, the master under whom Mr. Bull was educated, was very eminent in his profession, an excellent grammarian both for Latin and Greek, diligent in his office, and vigilant in his care and observation of his scholars. He was recommended to this post by my lord chief justice Popham, who by the will of the founder was constituted the chief director of every thing which related to this free-school; and he was so considerable in

his employment, that when he removed to Tiverton, 1634.
he brought several gentlemen's sons with him; so that he had scholars from many parts of the kingdom, and bred several persons, considerable for their learning, during the long time he continued master, which was above six and thirty years.

His great and early progress in classic learning.

Mr. Bull, by his great diligence, and by a remarkable pregnancy of parts, made a very considerable progress in all classical learning, under a person who was so able and so willing to instruct him. And it was the usual method of this master, when he gave his boys themes for verses, to press them to exert themselves and to do their best, because he judged how far each boy's capacity would carry him; but he always told George Bull, that he expected from him verses like those of Ovid; because, saith he, I know you can do it. Sufficiently thereby intimating that his scholar had a capacity and genius which enabled him to excel in such exercises. And we may very well suppose that the master took no small pains in cultivating such a good soil, and that the scholar was not less observant of the rules and directions which were proposed to him by so able an instructor, when we are assured that Mr. Bull was every ways fit for the university before he attained the fourteenth year of his age.

Removed to Exeter college in Oxford.

III. Thus young was Mr. Bull removed from the free-school of Tiverton to Exeter college in Oxford, where he was entered a commoner the tenth day of July, 1648. Here he was placed under the care of 1648.
Mr. Baldwin Ackland, who was his tutor, and very considerable for his learning and piety, zealous for his sovereign, when so many of his subjects and

1648. friends forsook him, and true to the interest of the church in her most afflicted circumstances. Yet notwithstanding that he was under the direction of so zealous and orthodox a divine, it must not be concealed that Mr. Bull lost much of the time he spent at the university, and he frequently mentioned it himself with great sorrow and regret; though he did not, as it is too usual, impute this misfortune of his life to any remissness in the government of the place, or to any negligence in his tutor, but to the great rawness and inexperience of his age. For being transplanted very young from the strict discipline of a school to the enjoyment of manly liberty, before he had consideration enough to make use of it to the best purposes, he was overpowered by that love of pleasure and diversion, which so easily captivate youth when it is not upon the guard. But as the freedoms he took were chiefly childish follies, so when he prosecuted them with the greatest earnestness, he still gave sufficient evidence of an extraordinary genius, and by the help of his logical rules which he made himself master of with little labour, and his close way of maintaining his argument, which was natural to him, he quickly got the reputation of a smart disputant, and as such was taken notice of by his superiors.

Taken notice of by two great men.

There were two great men at that time who had a particular regard for him; the one was Dr. Conant, the rector of the college[d], who encouraged learning during his government, and gave an example of piety to those under his care. It is true that

[d] [He was not made rector till June 1649, eleven months after Bull's admission.]

he was one of the commissioners on the presbyterian side at the conference in the Savoy, and that he refused to subscribe the Act of Conformity in 1662; but afterwards, upon better thoughts, he complied, and became minister of Northampton, was made archdeacon of Norwich, and installed prebendary of Worcester, and died possessed of these preferments, and a worthy member of the church of England, in a good old age, in March 1693. The other was that great prelate, bishop Prideaux[e], who by his learned works was famous abroad as well as in his own country, which, with his steady loyalty to his sovereign, made him worthy of the bishopric of Worcester, which was conferred upon him in 1641, though by the confusions of those times he reaped little or no advantage from it; for he died in mean circumstances in September, 1650, and left no legacy to his children but pious poverty, God's blessing, and a father's prayers, as he expresseth it himself in his last will. This learned bishop, in those times of persecution, fled for sanctuary in or near that college which he had formerly governed as rector with great applause. Both these considerable persons took more notice than ordinary of Mr. Bull; they would frequently call upon him to mind his studies, and took all occasions to encourage him in the prosecution of them; and their advice he would often own made very deep impressions upon him. Which sheweth of what consequence it is for men of figure and authority to cultivate those tender minds that are under their government, by animadverting sometimes upon their faults, and, when there is occasion,

1648-9.

[e] [John Prideaux.]

1648-9. by exciting their industry with just commendations and proper encouragements.

Acquainted with Mr. Clifford, afterwards lord high treasurer.

While Mr. Bull resided in Exeter college, he sat at the same table, and contracted a particular acquaintance, with Mr. Clifford, who afterwards came by several gradual promotions to enjoy the greatest post in this kingdom: for after he had served in several parliaments, and had been present in several engagements at sea, in the war against the Dutch, and had been employed abroad in several embassies; and in all those posts having given great proofs of his courage and capacity, and skill in business, he was first made comptroller, and afterwards treasurer of the king's household, one of the commissioners of the treasury, and for some time, during the earl of Arlington's absence in Holland, executed the office of secretary of state; in 1672, he was created baron Clifford of Chudleigh in Devonshire, and in the same year made lord high treasurer of England, which white staff he resigned in June the year following, being not willing, as it was said, to qualify himself according to the Test act. But this greatness of Mr. Bull's friend was attended with no advancement to his fellow collegiate; though I am informed his lordship did make some attempts to procure Mr. Bull preferment; and solicited my lord keeper Bridgman particularly for a prebend of Gloucester; but it is possible that my lord's reign of favour being short[f], he might retire from his great employments before there happened any vacancy in that church; besides

[f] [He was lord keeper from Aug. 30, 1667, to Nov. 5, 1672, between which dates the application must have been made, while Bull was rector of Suddington.]

Mr. Bull living at a distance from court, and not understanding the art of intriguing for preferment, might easily be forgot by a great man, who never wanted such in his eye that made interest for his favour. 1648-9.

IV. Mr. Bull had not been admitted two years in Exeter college before the Engagement was imposed upon the nation by a pretended act of parliament, which passed in January, 1649. The kingly office being abolished upon the murder of an excellent prince, it was declared, that for the time to come England should be governed as a commonwealth by parliament; that was, by that handful of men who, by their art and power and villainy, had wrought that wonderful alteration. And that they might secure their new government, and have some obligations of obedience from their subjects for the future, who had broken all the former oaths which they had taken, as is observed by a noble author[g], this new oath was prepared and established; the form whereof was, that every man should swear, *That he would be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, as it was then established, without a king or house of lords.* And whosoever refused to take that engagement, was to be incapable of holding any place or office in church or state; and they, who had no employments to lose, were to be deprived of the benefit of the law, and disabled

He retires from Oxford upon refusing the engagement. 1649.

[g] [Lord Clarendon, who says that the substance of the oath was, that every man should swear, that he would be true and faithful to the government established without king or house of peers, and that he would never consent to the readmitting either of them again.]

1649. from suing in any court. There was great zeal shewn in several places to procure this acknowledgment and submission from the people to this new government; particularly all the members of the university were summoned to appear, and solemnly to own the right and title of the commonwealth to their allegiance. Our young student appeared upon this occasion, and signalized himself by refusing to take the oath. The several hypotheses that were then started to make men easy under a change of government, which was directly contrary to the national constitution, could not prevail upon him to comply. Neither the argument of providence, nor present possession, nor the advantages of protection, which were all pleaded in those times, were strong enough to influence a mind that was early determined to be constant in his duty towards the church and the king.

He goes with his tutor Mr. Ackland to North-Cadbury.

It must be owned that it was a great happiness to Mr. Bull, that his tutor Mr. Ackland set him an example of this steady loyalty; for then precepts operate to the best purpose, when we strengthen them by our own practice. But besides, Mr. Bull had this further advantage from Mr. Ackland's refusing the engagement, that they retired together from the university to North-Cadbury in Somersetshire, whither also many other of his pupils, who were desirous to continue under the conduct of so good and so able a man, quickly followed; where they pursued their studies without distraction; and found that quiet in a village, which they had in vain sought for in a college. It is not certain how long he continued with his tutor in this retirement; but by the best judgment that can be made, in a fact at

such a distance, it is highly probable they did not part till Mr. Bull had attained the nineteenth year of his age; and so consequently that he then laid that foundation of learning, which is necessary as a preliminary to any particular learned profession, and upon which he built his future studies in divinity. 1653.

He was influenced to great seriousness by a sister.

And what was yet of greater importance, by this retreat into his own country, he had frequent converse with one of his sisters, a woman of incomparable parts, and of solid piety, whose good sense exercised itself chiefly upon the best objects; for she made religion her great care and employment. It was this woman that the providence of God made instrumental in reducing Mr. Bull entirely from his youthful vanities; for by the strength of her reason she exposed the folly and emptiness of them: by the frequency of her admonitions she prevailed upon him to consider the weight of what she urged; and by the tender and affectionate manner with which all her discourses were tinctured, she made deep impressions upon his mind; but above all, by the ardency and fervour of her prayers, she prevailed for such a supply of divine grace as enabled him to forsake them. This substantial proof of friendship he always remembered with great gratitude to God and his sister; and that seriousness of mind which Heaven by her means bestowed upon him, had an admirable effect upon his studies, which he now prosecuted with such earnestness, as rendered him afterwards so useful and so famous in the world.

He puts himself under the conduct of an eminent divine.

V. His application and industry began now to be conspicuous; and having no thoughts of returning to the university, the state and condition thereof

1653. being at that time no ways inviting, he was advised by his guardians and other relations to put himself under the conduct of some eminent divine, whose knowledge and skill might steer him right in his theological studies, which he purposed to prosecute, and whose pious example might season his mind with all those Christian virtues, which are requisite not only for the government of a private life, but are also necessary to discharge the duties of that sacred function in which he designed to engage.

The advantage of seminaries for the candidates of holy orders.

And upon this occasion I cannot help wishing, from the hearty affection and good-will I bear to the welfare of religion in general, and to the prosperity of the church of England in particular, that as we have noble foundations for the encouragement of all sorts of learning, and especially for divinity itself, in our two famous universities, which are the wonder of the world for the number of their colleges, their stately structures, and liberal endowments; so that we had also some of these foundations entirely set apart for the forming of such as are candidates for holy orders, where they might be fully instructed in all that knowledge which that holy institution requires, and in all those duties which are peculiarly incumbent upon a parochial priest. Where lectures might be daily read, which in a certain course of time should include a perfect scheme of divinity; where all particular cases of conscience might be clearly stated, and such general rules laid down, as might be able to assist them in giving satisfaction to all those that repair to them for advice in difficult matters. Where they might receive right notions of all those spiritual rights which are appropriated to the priesthood, and which

are not in the power of the greatest secular person either to convey or abolish; and yet are of such great importance, that some of them are not only necessary to the well-being, but to the very being of the church. Where they might be taught to perform all the public offices of religion with a becoming gravity and devotion, and with all that advantage of elocution, which is aptest to secure attention, and beget devout affections in the congregation. Where they might particularly be directed, how to receive clinical confessions, how to make their applications to persons in times of sickness, and have such a method formed to guide their addresses of that nature, that they might never be at a loss when they are called upon to assist sick and dying persons. Where they might be instructed in the art of preaching; whereby I mean not only the best method in composing their sermons, but all those decent gestures and graceful deportment, the influence whereof all hearers can easier feel than express. And where they might have such judicious rules given them for prosecuting their theological studies as would be of great use to them in their future conduct. But, above all, where they might be formed by constant practice, and by the example of their superiors, to piety and devotion, to humility and charity, to mortification and self-denial, to contentedness and submission to the will of God in all conditions of human life; and more especially excited to great zeal in promoting the salvation of souls, which is the true spring of all that industry and application which is required in the clerical function. 1653.

It would be a mighty satisfaction to the governors of the church, to ordain persons who had passed The fruit to be reaped from them.

1653. some time in such seminaries with the approbation of their superiors. It would be no small comfort to the candidates themselves to be so qualified by the purity of their intentions, and by their personal endowments, as to find themselves able to answer, with a good conscience, that important demand in ordination, *Whether they trust they are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon them that office and ministration?* And it would certainly be a great blessing to the nation to have such labourers sent into the vineyard of the Lord, as had been wrought up by particular application and study to that purpose. That man knoweth but little of the dignity and importance of the priesthood, that can content himself with ordinary attainments for the discharge of so great and so sacred a trust; and yet he will find himself very much deceived, if he dependeth upon the greatest perfection of human knowledge, without constant and fervent prayer to God for his grace to enable him to make a right use of it. This is necessary to sanctify his learning, though it be of never so prodigious a size; by keeping him within the bounds of humility, and by rendering him serviceable to those who are committed to his charge. But to proceed.

He is put under the direction of Mr. Thomas.

The times being very distracted when Mr. Bull was advised, as I said, to put himself under the direction of some eminent divine, his guardians and relations were very much divided in their opinions as to the choice of the person under whose care he was to be placed. His uncle, William Bull, esq.[h]

[h] [He died in 1676, having married Jane, daughter and coheir of Henry Southworth, of Wells, esq.]

of Shapwick, and some others, inclined to Dr. Hammond, a most eminent episcopal divine, whose name will always be mentioned with honour and respect by those who are true friends to the church of England; for he adhered to her when her condition was most deplorable, defended her doctrines and discipline by his learned and judicious pen, and adorned them by a conversation strictly virtuous and pious. But they prevailed who proposed Mr. William Thomas, rector of Ubley, in the county of Somerset, to which preferment he was advanced by the free and unsolicited bounty of Thomas Egerton, baron of Ellesmere, and lord chancellor of England. This Mr. Thomas was then in great reputation for his piety, and esteemed one of the chief ministers of his time in the neighbourhood where he lived. He was always reckoned a puritan, and closed with the presbyterian measures in 1642, and was appointed an assistant to the commissioners of Oliver Cromwell, for the ejecting such whom they then called scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters. He lived to be ejected himself for nonconformity, though he died among his parishioners in 1667. Mr. Bull complied with the determination of his guardians [i], and put himself under the direction of Mr. Thomas, in whose house he boarded with some of his own sisters for the space of two years; where he had the advantage indeed 1653.

[i] [Wood says, that upon his leaving Oxford he "sojourned in "the house of Mr. Henry Jeanes, rector of Chedzoy, in the same "county, (Somerset,) and did under him improve his knowledge "much in academical learning." Chedzoy is not far from Shapwick. Bull must have resided there between his being at North-Cadbury, and his going to Ubley.]

1653. of living in a very regular family, but he received little or no real improvement or assistance from him in his study of divinity, and would often lament his great misfortune in that choice.

He contracts a friendship with Mr. Thomas's son, which was very advantageous to him.

However it must be owned, that there was one circumstance that made Mr. Bull some amends for the time he lost under this director, which was, the opportunity he had by this means of contracting an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Samuel Thomas, the son of Mr. William Thomas; a person of a very valuable character for his piety and learning, who was afterwards chaplain at Christ Church in Oxford, vicar of Chard in Somersetshire, and prebendary of Wells. The friendship now begun, was afterwards cultivated by many mutual kind offices, and when they were at a distance it was supported by a frequent correspondence. Before this acquaintance with Mr. Samuel Thomas, Mr. Bull had spent his time entirely in reading little systems of divinity, and had arrived at so great a perfection in that method of study, and was particularly so thoroughly versed in Wollebius [k], that he was master of all those objections and solutions which so frequently occur in those writings. But his judgment being now come to a greater ripeness, he grew more and more out of conceit with that sort of divinity, and applied himself to the reading of other books, such as he relished better, and were more adapted to his genius; such as Hooker, Hammond, Taylor, Grotius, Episcopius, &c. with which his friend, Mr. Samuel Thomas, was ready to supply him, though at the

[k] [Wollebius was a professor at Basle, and wrote a work called *Compendium Theologiæ Christianæ*, Amstel. 1638.]

hazard of his father's displeasure; for the old man had a watchful eye over Mr. Bull, and never found any of these books in his study, without giving visible marks of his anger and resentment: for being well acquainted with his son's principles, and with the intimate correspondence there was between them, he easily guessed from what quarter he was provided with so much heterodoxy, and would often say, "My son will corrupt Mr. Bull." Thus it pleased the good providence of God to correct the disadvantages of his education, and by a favourable circumstance to strike such light into his mind, as preserved him from the bad principles of those times, and directed his understanding in distinguishing truths of very great importance. 1653.

VI. Soon after that he left Mr. Thomas, he entertained thoughts of going into holy orders; he had read enough to convince him, that mere presbyters had no power to give him a commission to exercise the sacred function, especially when the plausible plea of necessity could not be urged, which yet very seldom hath any great strength in it; because when positive institutions cannot be had whole and entire as God hath ordained them, with submission I speak it, I think they cease to be necessary. In this case Mr. Bull sought out for an unexceptionable hand, that his mission might be valid, according to the practice of the Christian church for fifteen hundred years, which affordeth not one instance of presbyterian ordination, but what was condemned by the universal voice of the catholic church. And being thus satisfied from whence he was to receive his spiritual powers, he applied himself to Dr. Skinner, He enters into holy orders.

1653. the ejected bishop of Oxford[l], by whom he was ordained deacon and priest in one day. This suffering prelate had the courage, even in those times of usurpation, to send many labourers into the Lord's vineyard, according to the liturgy of the church of England, when the exercising this his power was made penal. He lived indeed to be restored to his see, from whence he was translated to the bishopric of Worcester in 1663, and died full of years in 1670. He had been tutor to the famous Mr. William Chillingworth, the author of The Religion of Protestants a safe Way of Salvation, &c. and was one of those twelve bishops that subscribed in 1641 a protestation against the force that was used to their persons in attending the house, and against the immoderate proceedings of the parliament in their absence; for which they were impeached of high treason, and committed prisoners to the Tower, where they remained till the bill for putting them out of the house was passed, which was not till many months[m] after. His lordship, though he was willing to ordain Mr. Bull, yet refused to give him or any others letters of orders under his own hand and seal, for this prudential reason; because he was apprehensive some ill use might be made of them, if they

[l] [Robert Skinner was made bishop of Bristol in 1636, and translated to Oxford in 1641. When deprived of his see he retired to his rectory of Launton near Bicester: and Wood says, that he was supposed to be the only bishop who conferred orders during the usurpation: and, after his majesty's return, 103 persons did at once take holy orders from him in the abbey church at Westminster; and very many frequently in his respective dioceses where he successively sat.]

[m] [Eighteen weeks. *Wood.*]

fell into the hands of those unjust powers which then prevailed; who had made it criminal for a bishop to confer holy orders; but withal he assured him, that when the ancient apostolical government of the church should be restored, which he did not question but a little time would bring about, his letters of orders should be sent him, in what part soever of the nation he then lived, however it should please God to dispose of his lordship; which was accordingly punctually complied with, upon the happy restoration of king Charles the Second. 1653.

By this account it appeareth, that Mr. Bull was but one and twenty when he was made priest[n], which is much short of that age which is required by the canons of the church from the candidates of the priesthood; but upon his examination, he acquitted himself so perfectly well, that though the bishop was rightly informed as to that circumstance, yet he was pleased to say, that the church wanted persons qualified as he was, and that he could not make too much haste, when his pains and labour might be of such importance; that as to the canons, they could not be observed strictly in such times of difficulty and distress, and that he did dispense with his want of canonical age as much as in him lay. He was but one and twenty when ordained. 1655.

[n] [This irregularity is noticed in a collection of queries, printed without date, entitled, Some Queries recommended to the Consideration of the more rigid and clamorous Rubricians, the 23d and last of which is, "Whether bishop Taylor, bishop Bull, and "archbishop Sharp, who were all ordained priests before the age "of twenty-four, and were allowed to have cure of souls in Eng-"land, were yet not clergymen of the church of England?" Jeremy Taylor was ordained before the age of twenty-one, and so was archbishop Usher. See Comber on Ordination, p. 63.]

1655. And it is not to be wondered at, considering the melancholy circumstances the church was then in, that his lordship received with open arms a candidate, who was so well disposed and qualified to maintain and defend her doctrines and discipline, and had nothing but his youth to be objected against him.

This forwardness in such times an argument of his zeal.

I think it may be fairly inferred from this early dedication of himself to the service of the altar, in a time when rebellion and sacrilege rid triumphant, that in his youth and flower of his days he had a true relish for piety, and a zeal for the salvation of souls. The church of England, which is, and that justly, the glory of the Reformation, was then laid in the dust; she was ruined under a pretence of being made more pure and more perfect. Episcopacy, a divine institution, and therefore in no case to be deviated from, was abolished as antichristian; our admirable liturgy was laid aside as defiled with the corruptions and innovations of popery; and the revenues, which the piety of our ancestors had established for the maintenance of our spiritual fathers, were ravenously seized on by sacrilegious laymen, and alienated to support the usurpation. These discouraging circumstances did not damp the zeal of this servant of God, but he engaged in the service of the church when the arguments from flesh and blood were least inviting. When men propose the glory of God and the good of souls as the chief motive in the choice of their sacred profession, as they want not the prospect of riches and grandeur to invite them to undertake it, neither are they terrified with those difficulties that lie in the way of such an important service. The pilot is then most necessary,

when the ship is exposed to be driven on rocks and sands: and not to shrink from the exercise of his skill upon such occasions, distinguisheth his courage and resolution, as well as his zeal, to save those who are in the same bottom with himself. 1655.

VII. When he was furnished with those sacerdotal powers, which are the characteristic of a presbyter, he embraced the first opportunity the providence of God offered for the exercising of them according to his commission. A small living near Bristol, called St. George's[o], presenting itself, he the rather accepted it, because the income was very inconsiderable; it being very likely, that upon that account he would be suffered to reside without disturbance from the men of those times, who would not think it worth their pains to persecute and dispossess him for 30*l.* a year. Before he settled at this place, he met by accident with one of his godfathers, Mr. Hall, a clergyman, who acquainted him with the declaration his father had made when he was baptized, which gave him no small pleasure and satisfaction, in that he had fulfilled the intention of his father from the bent of his own inclination and free choice, without having ever till that time received the least intimation concerning it. When he came to fix at St. George's, he found the parish to abound with quakers and other wild sectaries, who held very extravagant opinions, which the people there and in the adjacent parts were very ready to run into; but by his constant preaching twice every

He settles at St. George's near Bristol.

[o] [It is properly called Easton in Gordano, five miles from Bristol; it is a prebend belonging to the cathedral of Wells, and the vicarage is a peculiar.]

1655. Lord's day, by his sound doctrine and exemplary life, by his great charities, (for he expended more annually in relieving the poor of all sorts than the whole income of his living amounted to,) and by his prudent behaviour, he gained very much upon the affections of his parishioners, and was very instrumental in preserving many, and reclaiming others, from those pernicious errors which then were common among them.

A little accident which contributed to his reputation.

There was a petty occurrence which happened a little after he came to this living, which contributed very much to the establishing his reputation as a preacher, in so disaffected a place as this was; and since oftentimes from very little seeming accidents, such as this, there have been, as is known to every one's observation, most considerable effects wrought out; it is hoped hence that the notice of it will not be thought altogether unuseful, or be unacceptable for appearing at first trivial. Now the matter was this: One Sunday when he had begun his sermon, as he was turning over his Bible to explain some texts of Scripture which he had quoted, it happened unfortunately (as it was thought) that his notes, contained in several small pieces of paper, flew out of his Bible into the middle of the church; by which means there was instantly raised a laughter in many of his congregation, consisting chiefly of wild seafaring persons: these concluding that their young preacher would now, for want of his materials, be entirely at a nonplus, were not a little pleased; and prepared themselves hereupon to sport at him with an air of contempt, not considering him as the minister of Christ to them in the weakness of flesh; but some who were sober, or better-natured than the

rest, condemning the levity of those scoffers, with great concern gathered them up, and carried them to him in his pulpit. Mr. Bull took them; but, perceiving most of the company there present to be rather inclined to triumph over him in that surprise, and to insult his youth, which stood in need of such props, immediately clapped his notes into his book again and shut it, not without a great presence of mind, and then gave himself the liberty of discoursing to them on the spot, prosecuting the subject which he had begun; which he performed so very much to their satisfaction, that they who at first were most inclined to laugh at him, began to grow serious; and from despising him, were at length so affected with his discourse, that this mightily advanced his reputation for the future among them, and secured him the good-will and esteem of those very persons who had been so forward to divert themselves at that, which they apprehended would have exposed him to be a common derision. 1655.

He is disturbed in his sermon by a quaker.

For another time, while he was preaching, a certain ranter, or quaker, came into the church, and made a disturbance in the midst of his sermon, crying out aloud, *George, come down; thou art a false prophet and an hireling;* upon which the parishioners, who were for the most part seamen, and who loved their minister exceedingly, for his great bounty and hospitality among them, as well as for his good preaching, fell upon this poor quaker with such fury, as obliged Mr. Bull to come down out of the pulpit to quiet them, and to save him from the effects of their resentment: so getting in among them, and warding off the blows that were falling very heavy upon the fellow, he said to them, "Come,

1655. " neighbours, be not so violent against the poor man,
" but spare him; you do not know what spirit he is
" acted by; you cannot tell but that it may be phrensy
" in him, or some other distemper; and if so, the
" man is certainly an object of your pity and care:
" however, let me prevail upon you to forbear, and
" hurt him not; but let me, good neighbours, a little
" argue coolly the matter with him." After this manner reasoning with them, they were somewhat pacified, and were content to leave him to Mr. Bull's management, and to hear whether he was able to say any thing in justification or excuse of what he had done: so Mr. Bull turned himself to the man, and addressed himself to him after this manner:
" Friend, thou dost call me a false prophet and an
" hireling. Now as to thy first charge, prophecy
" doth generally mean either preaching and inter-
" preting God's word, or else foretelling things to
" come; and so a prophet, either true or false, is
" understood in Scripture. Wherefore if thou dost
" mean I am a prophet in the first of these two
" senses, I readily acknowledge that I am so, and a
" true one also I hope, forasmuch as in all truth and
" sincerity, I have now for some time preached
" among this good people what I could learn to be
" agreeable to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles,
" not failing to interpret to them the mind of God
" in the Scriptures, without any other end but to
" bring them to the knowledge of the truth, and
" thereby to the attainment of life everlasting. But,
" friend, if thou dost call me a prophet, and a false
" prophet, from my foretelling things to come, I
" then appeal to my parishioners here present,
" whether I ever once pretended to this manner of

" prophecy either in my sermons or in my discourses 1655.
" with them: and so in this sense I can be no false
" prophet, having never deceived any one by pre-
" tences of this nature. And as to the other charges
" against me, that I am an hireling, I appeal again
" to these here present and that know me, whether
" they can say that I have preached among them
" for the sake of gain or filthy lucre, and whether I
" have not on the contrary been ready on all occa-
" sions to serve and assist them to the utmost of my
" power, and to communicate as freely as I receive."
Upon which the people, being touched with a sense of gratitude to this minister of God for his extraordinary kindness and constant bounty towards them, but not mindful enough of that sacred regard which was due to the place where they were met, and to the occasion which brought them together, perceiving the silly enthusiast at a perfect nonplus, and not able to speak a word of sense in his own defence, fell upon him a second time with such violence, that had not Mr. Bull bustled very much among them, and by great entreaties prevailed upon them to spare him, and to lead and shut him out of the church, they would have worried him upon the spot. After which Mr. Bull went up again into his pulpit, and finished his sermon.

The method he took in governing his parish.

VIII. Besides the ordinary duties of his function, which he constantly performed, the method he took in governing this parish contributed very much to the welfare of the people committed to his charge, and answered extremely the ends of his ministry. He did not content himself only with preaching to his flock on Sundays, and with going to the sick,

1655. when their languishing condition required spiritual comfort and assistance; but he visited all his parishioners, rich and poor, without distinction, at their own houses, in a certain compass of time; not to gratify their civil invitations, or his own diversion, but to be serviceable to them in matters of the greatest importance, the salvation of their souls. And therefore upon these occasions the time was not trifled away in empty talk, but his discourse was suited to the several exigencies of those he conversed with. Where he found people neglected in their education, and ignorant in the fundamentals of religion, those he instructed by explaining to them what was necessary to be believed and practised in order to their salvation. Where the ground was overrun with weeds, and some good principles were blended with false doctrines and pernicious errors, there he discovered the dangerous consequences of such tenets, and shewed how inconsistent they were with the holy Scriptures, and the belief of all orthodox Christians. Where he perceived that men laid all the stress upon a right faith, and, provided they secured that part of the duty, were too apt to indulge themselves in some unchristian practices; those he admonished with all that freedom which becometh a faithful pastor, assuring them, that *without holiness no man shall see the Lord.* Those who laboured under any affliction received from him advice and comfort, and were instructed how to bear them, and how to make a right use of them. Those who were oppressed with any doubts and scruples in their Christian course had proper remedies applied to resolve them, and to free the persons from that unquietness which possessed them. Where

the pleasant path of virtue was steadily pursued; 1655.
those were exhorted to persevere and hold out to the end, because in due time they should reap, if they fainted not. But where vice and wickedness were become habitual, those were sharply rebuked, in order to reclaim them from those sins which would infallibly be their ruin, without a speedy and hearty repentance. By these means he became acquainted with the state of their souls, and was thereby the better enabled to suit his discourses in public to the several wants and grievances of his people; and from this practice he further reaped another advantage, that he thoroughly understood the necessities of those that were really poor, whose hard circumstances he constantly relieved, either from his own charity, or from the bounty of those who supplied him upon all such occasions.

The parish infested with antinomian books.

There was hardly a family in the parish which was not furnished with great store of antinomian books, such doctrines prevailing very much in those times, which they read often and valued much; and therefore in these visits he took particular care to examine what books they were most conversant in; and when he found what he had reason to suspect, he constantly warned them against the poison they were so familiar with. By this method, and the blessing of God upon his endeavours, he quickly convinced his parishioners of the false reasonings that were contained in such antinomian books, and how contrary the tenets maintained in them were to the holy Scriptures, and how inconsistent with that scheme of salvation which the blessed Jesus had proposed to all his followers. There is one circumstance in these visits which must not be forgot, be-

1655. cause it is very proper for the imitation of such incumbents, who have any parishioners that keep at a distance from their communion. When Mr. Bull found any person, that either never came to the parish church, or, after having frequented it, withdrew to some other communion, his constant practice was to inquire who had seduced them, and desired to know their names, in order to summon them to a conference in the presence of the party who had been prevailed upon to absent from the parish church. These challenges were frequently accepted; for Mr. Bull being young, it was not imagined that he was able to maintain and defend a cause against persons of riper age, and who had been long versed in the controversy; but by the quickness and readiness of his parts, and by his close way of maintaining an argument, which was very natural to him, as I have already observed, he found his account in these conferences, and had thereby very great success in recovering his wandering sheep. As to the younger sort of people, his custom was to address to them in public as well as private, and therefore he would pitch upon some week-day to preach to them before he administered the holy eucharist, that such as had not yet been admitted to that divine ordinance might be thoroughly instructed in the nature and design of the Christian sacrifice, and might be taught what preparation was necessary to qualify them to appear at the holy altar.

The excellency of Mr. Bull's method.

It must be allowed, that these rules by which he managed himself in the government of his parish were very admirable, and exceeding proper, by the assistance of God's grace, to make his labours effectual for the good of souls, and very fit for the imita-

tion of the parochial clergy, where their cures will admit of such a particular application, and where they are not yet fallen into such measures. But what seemeth wonderful to me is, that a young man of one and twenty (for Mr. Bull did not exceed that age, when he first became incumbent of the living of St. George's) should be able to frame so good a scheme for his own conduct, and should have so much industry and zeal, as to put it in execution. Such methods as these, and such manly thoughts, are usually the result of experience and riper years, and seldom occur to those that just enter upon the exercise of their holy function. By this we may fairly conclude, that Mr. Bull was a man of no ordinary capacity, but had a genius for that sacred office he had espoused, and had strong impressions of his duty in the flower of his youth, and was firmly bent to spare no pains that were necessary to discharge it to the honour of God and the good of souls. 1655.

IX. The iniquity of the times would not bear the constant and regular use of the Liturgy; to supply therefore that misfortune, Mr. Bull formed all the devotions he offered up in public, while he continued minister of this place, out of the Book of Common Prayer, which did not fail to supply him with fit matter and proper words upon all those occasions that required him to apply to the throne of grace for a supply of the wants of his people. He had the example of one of the brightest lights of that age, the judicious Dr. Sanderson, to justify him in this practice; and his manner of performing the public service was with so much seriousness and devotion, with so much fervour and ardency of affec- The prayers he used in public.

1655. tion, and with so powerful an emphasis in every part, that they who were most prejudiced against the Liturgy, did not scruple to commend Mr. Bull as a person that prayed by the Spirit, though at the same time they railed at the Common Prayer as a beggarly element, and as a carnal performance.

An instance of the Common Prayer being admired by the dissenters, when used by Mr. Bull.

A particular instance of this happened to him while he was minister of St. George's, which because it sheweth how valuable the Liturgy is in itself, and what unreasonable prejudices are sometimes taken up against it, the reader will not, I believe, think it unworthy to be related. He was sent for to baptize the child of a dissenter in his parish; upon which occasion, he made use of the Office of Baptism, as prescribed by the church of England, which he had got entirely by heart; and he went through it with so much readiness and freedom, and yet with so much gravity and devotion, and gave that life and spirit to all that he delivered, that the whole audience was extremely affected with his performance; and notwithstanding that he used the sign of the cross, yet, they were so ignorant of the Offices of the church, that they did not thereby discover that it was the Common Prayer. But after that he had concluded that holy action, the father of the child returned him a great many thanks, intimating at the same time, with how much greater edification they prayed, who entirely depended upon the Spirit of God for His assistance in their extempore effusions, than those did who tied themselves up to premeditated forms; and that if he had not made the sign of the cross, that badge of popery, as he called it, nobody could have formed the least objection against his excellent prayers. Upon which Mr. Bull, hoping

to recover him from his ill-grounded prejudices, shewed him the Office of Baptism in the Liturgy, wherein was contained every prayer which he had offered up to God on that occasion; which, with farther arguments that he then urged, so effectually wrought upon the good man and his whole family, that they always after that time frequented the parish church, and never more absented themselves from Mr. Bull's communion. From whence we may reasonably conclude, that as a mistaken zeal may throw contempt upon what justly deserves to be admired; so also that gravity, seriousness, and devotion, in reading the prayers, are necessary to secure that respect to the Liturgy which its own excellency requireth from us. 1655.

An eminent danger he was preserved from.

While he remained minister of this parish, the providence of God was pleased to appear wonderfully in his preservation; for all those second causes that concur to protect us from any danger that threateneth us, must be attributed to that all-wise and powerful hand that overrules them. The lodgings he had taken in this place were contiguous to a powdermill, where he pursued his studies with great assiduity for several months; till the gentleman of the parish, Mr. Morgan, a person of unblemished loyalty and affection to the church, and his lady, daughter to sir William Master of Cirencester, making him a visit, they observed to him the danger he was exposed to by continuing longer in those lodgings, and in a very friendly manner invited him to their own house, where they assured him of all that accommodation which was necessary and agreeable to him. He modestly for some time declined this kind offer; but their repeated importunity at

1655. last prevailed, and he accepted of that obliging proposal, which was the means, under God, of saving his life; for not many days after his removal to Mr. Morgan's the mill was blown up, and his apartment with it, on such a day and hour as he had always been in his study from the time he first came to that place. So that he must inevitably have perished, if his deliverance had not been wrought out for him after this unexpected manner. This singular goodness of God, which interposed in his behalf, was received with all thankfulness; and a life thus preserved quickened his endeavours in pursuing the true purposes of living.

He goes to Oxford once a year for the use of libraries.

During his being at St. George's, and some think for a year or two before, his constant custom was to make a journey once a year to the university of Oxford, where he remained about two months to enjoy the pleasure and advantage of the public libraries. It is a great misfortune to a young clergyman, when he is confined to a country cure, to be destitute of such books as are necessary to enable him to make any considerable advance in his studies of divinity, to which other parts of learning contribute their aid and assistance, and therefore consequently are not to be neglected. And if the solid foundation of useful knowledge is not laid, and the habit of studying acquired, while men are in the prime of their days, they seldom make any progress that will be able to distinguish them from persons of ordinary attainments. But Mr. Bull, being sensible of what consequence it was to season his youth with all that learning which he was then capable of attaining, took the method I now mention to supply the want of a good private library; and by the great profi-

ciency he made, it very sufficiently answered what he proposed from it; for here he nourished his mind with fresh supplies of learning, and having nothing to distract his thoughts, or to interrupt his studies, we may reasonably suppose, that the advances he made in those two months were much greater than he could attain in double the time at his own cure, where the constant duties of his parish challenged a large share, and where the want of books hindered him from employing his leisure to the greatest advantage. Besides, he reaped another benefit from this excursion, that the exercise of the journey contributed to the preservation of the health of his body, which by a constant sedentary life is exposed to many growing infirmities. In his way to Oxford, and in his return, he always made a visit to sir William Master of Cirencester, where he was constantly received, as a very welcome guest, with great civility and kindness. He usually upon these occasions preached for the incumbent of that place, Mr. Alexander Gregory, whereby was laid the foundation of such an acquaintance and friendship between them, as was afterwards improved to so great an intimacy, that in some time Mr. Bull married one of his daughters. 1655-8.

X. In the change of his condition Mr. Bull seemed to have a regard chiefly to the character of the person he chose for the companion of his life, and preferred the qualifications of piety and virtue to those temporal advantages, which for the most part influence the minds of men upon such occasions. And as this method ought to be pursued by all those that would build their happiness upon a sure foundation Mr. Bull marries Mrs. Bridget Gregory.

1655-8. in a married state, so it appears still more necessary in a clergyman, because not only himself, but his family, ought to be a pattern to the whole parish. For he hath solemnly promised, in the presence of God, to apply himself diligently not only to frame and fashion himself, but his family also, according to the doctrine of Christ; and to make not only himself, but them also, as much as in him lieth, wholesome examples to the flock of Christ. Now what means can be so fitly adapted to this end as a prudent mistress of a family, eminent in those virtues which are the peculiar ornament of the female sex, such as devotion and purity, meekness and modesty, mercifulness and humility; to which may be added, that gravity of garb, and decency of dress, which in a particular manner adorn the wife of a clergyman, who will do honour to her husband, and rise in the esteem of others, the more she keepeth at a distance from the vanity and gayety of the age?

The appearance of these Christian and proper endowments for the family of a priest, determined Mr. Bull to conclude a marriage with Mrs. Bridget Gregory, daughter of Mr. Alexander Gregory, under whose care she was educated with great modesty and sobriety. They were joined together in holy matrimony by Mr. William Master, vicar of Preston, according to the form prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, the use of which was then forbidden under a great penalty. But as Mr. Bull had a particular regard to our excellent Liturgy, in those times when it was the fashion to despise it; so he had not a less esteem for the constitution of the church; for in order to render so serious an action,

as matrimony is, still more solemn, he pitched upon Ascension-day for the solemnizing of it, which, in 1658, was the twentieth of May. 1658.

The success of such an important action answered the care and caution that was used in bringing it to pass; for Mrs. Bull proved in all respects a fit consort for a clergyman, as being in her own nature sufficiently provident, and yet well disposed to all manner of good works, out of a true principle of love to God and goodness. Her attire was very plain and grave: her chief diversion was the care of her family, and her main ambition was to please her husband, to whom she was always a complying and obedient wife. Yet her piety was not confined to her own home, but extended itself to the whole parish wherever she lived: for by the help of her closet, and skill in surgery, she made herself extremely useful and necessary upon all occasions, and was very much beloved, especially by those of the meaner sort. These advantages she improved to the best purposes; for by these means she was highly instrumental with the people of Avening, a living which Mr. Bull was afterwards preferred to, especially those of her own sex, to lay aside their prejudices against the Common Prayer, to bring their children to church to receive public baptism, which they had not been used to do for many years before, and to return thanks to God after childbirth, which had been discontinued for some time in that parish. Such was her charity, that she not only distributed her own alms with great liberality and discretion, but would frequently put the overseers of the poor in mind of their duty; that the sick and aged might not want such supplies as they were obliged to fur- Her character.

1658. nish, and the necessity of the indigent required. And such was her concern for the souls of her neighbours, that when her husband's infirmities made him, upon occasions, unable to visit the sick, and that the curate was accidentally from home, she would procure this assistance, when to be had, from others; and her worthy son-in-law Mr. Archdeacon Stephens well knows, that he seldom went to pay his duty at her house, but she would engage him to go along with her to visit the sick, and to pray and discourse with them. They were man and wife above fifty years[p]; and she is yet living at Brecknock[q]; the people of which place were so kind as to send a message to her on purpose, after the bishop's death, to signify their earnest desire and request, that she would come and spend the remainder of her days among them; and though solicited by some of her relations to live with them, yet she complied with this obliging proposal, not so much from an inclination to live at Brecknock, as to die there, being determined to be buried near her deceased husband, who was there interred; and to this purpose the ground remains still unpaved by her order, who daily waiteth for her dissolution. She brought Mr. Bull five sons and six daughters[r], and so proved a fruitful as well as a provident and obedient wife, which exactly answered the prayer of her wedding-ring, which was, *Bene parere, parere, parare det mihi Deus.*

[p] [Fifty-two years.]

[q] [That is, when this Life was begun: before it was ended she had died, as is mentioned by Nelson when speaking of the interment of bishop Bull. She died Nov. 16, 1712, aged 75.]

[r] [Jones, the historian of Brecknockshire, says two daughters.]

XI. About this year, 1658, he was presented to the rectory of Suddington[s] St. Mary, near Cirencester in Gloucestershire, which being a living under value, was in the gift of the keeper of the seals for the time being, and consequently at the disposal of those who at that time were no friends to the church of England; and yet Mr. Bull got the presentation, not only without any mean application to the unlawful powers then in possession, but very honestly and honourably; the manner whereof was thus: the lady Pool, who at that time lived at Cirencester, as lady of the manor of Suddington, claimed a right of presenting to that living; and having a respect for Mr. Gregory, whose daughter Mr. Bull had married, and a much greater for Mr. Bull himself afterwards, as appeared by making him her executor, she offered Mr. Bull the presentation, which he accepted purely upon her right; but he had certainly lost it if Mr. Stone of Cirencester, a particular friend of Mr. Gregory's, had not taken out the broad seal without Mr. Bull's knowledge or privity; which he did upon this occasion. A clergyman, who knew that Mr. Bull had not a good title, endeavoured to get the broad seal for his living; which he had certainly succeeded in, if Mr. Stone had not been concerned in the presentations; for when that person addressed to Mr. Stone for that purpose, he told him that there was a minister lately settled at Suddington whose name was Bull; to which the party replied, that though he was in possession, yet he wanted the legal title. Upon this Mr. Stone acquainted him, that though he did not personally know Mr. Bull,

1658. He was presented to Suddington St. Mary's.

[s Of Siddington.]

1658. yet he was not a stranger to his character; and having heard that he had married a daughter of a good friend of his, if he had not a good title, he would help him to one; and so took out the broad seal for Mr. Bull, and sent it to Mr. Gregory, and at the same time gave him an account, how much danger his son-in-law had been in; and all this Mr. Stone did gratis, out of a great regard and esteem for Mr. Gregory, which the providence of God made use of for Mr. Bull's security.

1659. He was made privy to the design of a general insurrection in 1659.

In the year 1659, the nation began to be very sensible of the misery they had long groaned under, and were very earnest to relieve themselves from that oppression, which had so long prevailed among them; and there was at that time a general disposition all over the kingdom to concert measures for the king's restoration. There were very few counties in England, where there was not a formed undertaking by the most powerful men of the county, to possess themselves of some considerable place that might be serviceable to so good a purpose. Several gentlemen in Mr. Bull's neighbourhood had frequent meetings to consult how they might contribute their share of advice and strength towards settling the nation upon a right foundation, by restoring the heir of the kingdom to the throne of his ancestors: and Mr. Bull was at that time so well esteemed for his loyalty and prudence, that the gentlemen admitted him into their secret, and had that confidence in his wise management, as well as in his good dispositions to the church of England, and the royal family, that they fixed upon his house at Suddington for one of the places of their meeting. And accordingly we find from the history of those times, that in July

that year a general rendezvous was designed throughout England, of all who would declare for the king, there having been commissions in every county, directed to six or seven known men, with authority to them to choose one to command in chief in that county, till they should make a conjunction with other forces who had a superior commission from the king. But through the permission of divine Providence, this undertaking was disappointed, and sir George Booth, who was the only person among many that were engaged that made a successful attempt in seizing upon Chester, was in a few days defeated, and himself made a prisoner. 1659.

Upon the restoration, Mr. Bull frequently preached at Cirencester, where there was a populous and large congregation; and he was the better able to give this assistance to his father-in-law Mr. Gregory, who by his great age and infirmities was disabled from performing the duties of his function, because his parish lay in that neighbourhood. Here his sermons gave that general satisfaction, that upon a vacancy in that cure, the people were very solicitous to procure for him the presentation; but they could not prevail upon him to consent to the endeavours they were making to that purpose; the business of it was so great, by reason of the largeness of the parish, that he was discouraged from accepting this testimony of their kindness and respect towards him. The choice of the subjects which he discoursed upon at that place, and in that conjuncture of public affairs, were so very seasonable, that they had a visible good effect upon the congregation, and made such a deep impression, that they are remembered by some persons even to this day. His design was 1660. His preaching at Cirencester, and the occasion of it.

1660. to convince the people of the necessity of a decent behaviour in the house of God, as well as of the religious observation of the Lord's day, which he explained and pressed in several sermons, from Levit. xix. 30. *Ye shall keep my sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary: I am the Lord.* How proper such applications were then to the people, we may collect from the posture of affairs in which we then were; for the swarms of sectaries, which overran the nation in the times of the great rebellion, had carried their hypocrisy so high, that upon the restoration, some men thought they could not recede too far from the behaviour and practice of those persons, who had made religion a cloak for so many villanies. This was apt to expose men to the other extreme, and inclined them to think every appearance of devotion was puritanical. So that nothing could be more proper than to guard people's minds from the temptations to which they were liable, and by proper arguments to enable them to resist what was urged against some things that were serious and devout, under the pretence of their being fanatical. For though hypocrisy and profaneness will both prove destructive to those who indulge them in their practice; yet barefaced irreligion is most pernicious to the public.

1662. He was presented to the vicarage of Suddington St. Peter.

XII. In the year 1662, Mr. Bull was presented to the vicarage of Suddington St. Peter, by the then lord chancellor the earl of Clarendon, at the request and application of his constant patron and worthy diocesan, Dr. Nicholson, who was made bishop of Gloucester upon the restoration, and who had all that merit which was necessary to fill so great a sta-

tion in the church to the best advantage, if his stea- 1662.
diness to her doctrines and discipline, in her most afflicted state, had not made it also reasonable that he should have had his share in her prosperity. This vicarage, which was but mean in itself, (for the yearly value did not amount to above 25*l.*) yet was of some advantage to Mr. Bull, because it lay contiguous to the rectory of the same name, of which he was then in possession; and it was equally convenient to the parishioners of both parishes to come to either of the churches, in which he thought fit to officiate; so that he sometimes preached in one, and sometimes in the other. The income of both these livings together did not rise to above 100*l.* a year, clear of taxes; so that if there was not much addition to his labour, there was also no great increase of his revenue. But Mr. Bull had a farther prospect in the enjoying these two livings, than the gratifying his own interest; for by this means he purposed to get them united for the future, and to have them put under the same grant; which he thought would very well answer the pains he took to compass it, and might be a very good piece of service to the church. For as they were not too large for one man's care, both parishes not containing above thirty families, so by this union it might be reasonably supposed, that a person might be expected better qualified for both when they were joined together, than could be hoped for, when they were separated, for either. But the great charge of consolidating these two churches by act of parliament prevented the success of his attempt; though by the consent of the bishop of the diocese, and the parishioners, they were united into one congregation; and he became thereby

1662. so far a benefactor to his successor, that both livings were granted to him at the same time, and it is probable they will be granted together for the future.

When he first came to the rectory of Suddington, he began to be more open in the use of the Liturgy of the church of England; and it was next to impossible but that it should be liked and approved by every one that heard him officiate: for he had a most excellent talent in performing the whole service; and he was to that degree perfect in it, that I never yet heard him equalled by any one. His whole deportment was grave and serious, and had withal an air of that authority which belonged to his function; his pronunciation was distinct and audible, and yet natural and unaffected; he went through every part of the service with that particular devotion that belongs to it. He read the holy Scriptures with such leisure, and with such exactness, in observing the stops and points, that they were much better understood by the people; and yet with that zeal and gravity as shewed the importance of the message which he delivered, and fixed the attention of those that were to receive it. He offered up all the prayers with great warmth and intenseness of mind; his very soul seemed to invigorate every petition, and to give new life to every prayer; which is certainly one good method to kindle heavenly affections in the congregation. With these advantages he reconciled the minds of his parishioners to the Common Prayer, before the use of it was publicly restored, by the return of king Charles the Second; of which he made a proof, when he was but newly established in his cure: for being desired to marry a couple, he performed it on

He marries a couple publicly by the form of Common Prayer.

a Sunday morning, according to the form of the Common Prayer Book, in the face of the congregation, where the most of his parishioners were assembled together for the religious observation of that holy day. When he came out of the church, he inquired of the people, how they liked that manner of solemnizing matrimony; not concealing from them how much it was in their power to expose him to a malicious prosecution, and shewing at the same time the confidence he placed in their kindness and affection; upon which they all expressed their unanimous approbation of his performance; declaring not only their readiness to submit, but also their satisfaction in joining in those prayers which he used in public, with solemn assurances, that they would not only make no complaints of him themselves, but also endeavour to prevent them from others. 1662.

Reading the prayers devoutly no mean attainment, and of great advantage to the people.

It is possible, this devout and decent reading of the prayers of the church may be looked upon by some as a mean and low attainment, and by others as a burden and task to be imposed only upon those that have not gifts for the pulpit. And indeed, if we may have leave to guess at the thoughts of some men by their actions, this must be the language of their hearts; for either they seldom or never read the prayers themselves, and so depreciate the worth and excellency of them with the people; as if that administration were below the dignity of a parochial priest; or they provide persons of such ordinary and unskilful elocution to officiate in their stead, as apparently tendeth to damp rather than raise the devotion of the congregation. But experience sufficiently convinceth us, that this accomplishment is not easily acquired, because we find there are but

1662-9. few that excel this way; and nothing ought to be accounted mean, that is so instrumental in promoting devotion in the hearts and affections of men. And if any one will attempt in earnest to make himself master of this talent, he will find that it will cost him much labour and pains before he can compass it; for all are not equally blest by nature with strength and sweetness of voice; and yet they ought not to be discouraged if they want those advantages, because elocution is capable of great improvement by study and constant practice. But after all, those who cannot read as becometh the service of God, ought to be rejected as unfit, upon that account, to receive holy orders; for though a man hath the understanding of an angel, yet if he hath no voice, or, at least, if it is so low, and so imperfect, that he cannot either convey his thoughts to the people, or officiate to edification in the service of the church, so far he is unqualified to be admitted into the sacred function. What a dreadful account then will those governors in the church have to give at the day of judgment, who ordain such for deacons as by their administrations quench the devotion of the people, and provoke our adversaries to reproach us; and by their incapacity to read, make the Scripture a dead letter, and the admirable Liturgy of the church a contemptible performance!

His manner of preaching, and the frequency of it

XIII. But though Mr. Bull thus excelled in discharging all the offices of the Liturgy, yet he did not shine less in the pulpit, from whence he did for several years instruct his parish twice every Lord's day. The great end and design of his sermons (for I have often heard him with great pleasure and edifica-

ont, was to acquaint his people with the know- 1662-9.
dge of the holy Scriptures, which were able to
ake them wise unto salvation; and therefore all
ıbjects which he handled were always strengthened
ıd confirmed by passages from holy writ, and those
assages explained and made easy to the capacity of
ıe meanest understanding, and such useful obser-
ations drawn from them, as gave fresh light to his
ıbject, as well as to those texts he had quoted in
rder to illustrate it. And indeed, he was every
ay qualified for this proper employment of a Chris-
an preacher; for as he had a clear head and a
rong judgment, so he did with great accuracy un-
erstand those learned languages, wherein the Bible
as originally wrote: he had taken no small pains
ı his youth to make himself master of the Hebrew;
r he did not content himself with a slight and su-
erficial skill in a language, which he thought so
ecessary for a divine; and upon which he laid such
eight, that it was very usual with him to recom-
ıend the study of it to the candidates of divinity,
ı a foundation for their future theological per-
rmances. And in his Harmonia Apostolica, which
as the very first book he published, he gave the
orld a sufficient evidence of his knowledge of this
ind; and not only of his acquaintance with the
Iebrew text, and the best critics thereupon, but
lso of a much deeper insight into the Jewish learn-
ng, by his familiarity with, and accurate judgment
oncerning the customs and dogmata of that nation,
rom their best writers. By these means he was

[t While Bull was rector of Suddington, Nelson was living
ith his mother at Dryfield, not far off, and received lessons from
ull at his mother's house.]

1662-9. able himself to make a judgment of the translations of the holy Scriptures; and instead of an implicit submission to the critics, was qualified to discover their errors, as well as to admire their perfections; which maketh it very advisable, that all those who dedicate themselves to the service of the church, should allow the Hebrew language a share in their studies. To these helps were added a knowledge of sacred history as well as profane, and an insight into those customs, to which several parts of Scripture frequently refer, and without the understanding of which it is often impossible to discern the strength and beauty of what is delivered. But above all, he was thoroughly acquainted with primitive antiquity, and had with great care and observation read the works of the fathers and ancient doctors, from whence he was best able to learn the sense of the catholic church upon all matters of consequence, which is the best guide in interpreting those Scriptures which are not plain in themselves.

He only writ the scheme of his sermon.

It was but seldom, and that upon some extraordinary occasions, that he composed his sermon entire, and committed it to writing; which is the reason that he has left so few finished discourses behind him. His usual method was, after the choice of his text, to mark some words that were to be explained, in order to give the true sense of that portion of Scripture he had chose to treat upon; and then he writ down some observations, which flowed naturally from the subject, and under each observation hints to illustrate it, and texts of Scripture proper to be explained in order to give light to it; and then drew inferences from his whole discourse by way of application. Thus he had only the scheme

s sermon before him in writing; and having in 1662-9.
manner secured the substance of it, he did by
m and practice bring himself to a great readi-
and fluency in expressing himself upon all sub-
; and if this manner of preaching wanted the
tness of more studied composures, it had the
ntage of that popular style, which by good
s hath been thought the fittest for the pulpit;
whence, if men design to influence and per-
e the generality of their hearers, they must con-
nd to use more words than are necessary in a
: sense; the same thing must be repeated often,
turned after a different manner, and inculcated
force, so that fresh and lasting impressions may
ade upon the audience. What Mr. Bull deli-
l of this kind never wanted a becoming fervour,
he enlivened his discourses with proper and de-
gestures; and his voice was always exerted
some vehemency, whereby he kept the audi-
awake, and raised their attention to what he
ered, and persuaded the people that he was in
st, and affected himself with what he recom-
led to others. By these means he laboured
r years in teaching the ignorant, in confirming
weak, in quieting the scrupulous, in softening
ard heart, in rousing the sinner, and in raising
pious soul to a steady and vigorous pursuit of
al happiness. And whatever he delivered, his
s were generally fixed in the minds of his
rs, as they parted from his own full of warmth
heat.

r. Bull was too sensible of the necessity and His care in catechising the youth.
ntage of catechising, to neglect an institution
h hath so direct a tendency to promote piety

1662-9. and religion in the minds of men. The instructions from the pulpit very often miscarry for want of laying a good foundation in the first principles of religion, and from not understanding the meaning of those words and phrases which so frequently occur in set and formed discourses; and it is a vain attempt to reform the world, without seasoning the minds of the youth with that necessary knowledge of the Christian mysteries, upon which all religious practice must be built. He laboured therefore particularly in this province, and did not content himself barely to hear the youth repeat the words of our excellent Catechism, but he expounded it to them after a plain and familiar manner, whereby he did not only sow the good seed of the word in young and tender minds, but also enlightened those of riper years, whom he encouraged and exhorted to be present at his catechetical performances, and who were too much ashamed of their ignorance to overcome it by any other methods. God was pleased so far to bless his endeavours of this kind, that he carried fifty persons well instructed in the principles of Christian religion at one time to the visitation at Cirencester, who were all confirmed by the bishop, when his whole parish did not consist of above thirty families.

Baptism and the eucharist, how administered by him.

He administered the sacraments of our holy religion with great reverence and solemnity: the holy eucharist, the mysterious rite and perfection of Christian worship, was not performed so often in this parish as he earnestly desired; and yet oftener than is usual in little villages; for he brought it to seven times in a year. But whenever he officiate at the altar, it was exactly agreeable to the direc-

tions of the rubric, and with the gravity and seriousness of a primitive priest. He preserved the custom of a collection for the poor, when the priest begins the offertory, which I the rather mention, because it is too much neglected in country villages. He always placed the elements of bread and wine upon the altar himself, after he had received them either from the churchwarden or clerk, or had taken them from some convenient place, where they were laid for that purpose. His constant practice was to offer them upon the holy table, in the first place, in conformity to the practice of the ancient church, before he began the communion service; and this the rubric, after the offertory, seemeth to require of all her priests, by declaring, that "when there is a commu-"nion, the priest shall then place upon the table so "much bread and wine as he shall think sufficient." He was always very unwilling to administer baptism in private houses, except in cases of necessity, when the church for a greater good thinketh fit to dispense with her own laws. And therefore he not only admonished parents to bring their children to receive public baptism; but, according to the advice laid down in the rubric, that the performance might be more solemn, he desired it might be on Sundays or other holy-days, when the greatest number of people were met together; that the congregation might testify the receiving of them that are newly baptized into the number of Christ's church; and that every man present in the baptism of infants might be put in remembrance of his own profession made to God in that sacrament. He urged this with the greater importunity upon his parishioners, that the infant to be baptized might thereby have 1662-9.

1662-9. the benefit of the united prayers of a full Christian congregation, which he thought were much to be valued. An argument which could not fail to have a great influence upon parents, who seldom want great tenderness and affection for their children; though sometimes they are not well instructed how to exercise it.

His observation of the holy-days of the church.

It is provided by the rubric, after the saying the Nicene Creed on Sundays, that "the curate shall "declare unto the people what holy-days or fasting-"days are in the week following to be observed:" and this direction is enforced by the sixty-fourth canon of the Ecclesiastical Constitutions, made by the Convocation in 1603. Now Mr. Bull did not satisfy himself only with giving this notice to his parishioners, which he could not well omit without neglecting his duty, but he led them to the observation of such holy institutions by his own example. For he had so far a regard to these holy-days, as to cause all his family to repair to the church at such times; and on the days of fasting and abstinence, the necessary refreshments of life were adjourned from the usual hour till towards the evening. He was too well acquainted with the practice of the primitive Christians, to neglect such observances as they made instrumental to piety and devotion, and had too great a value for the injunctions of his mother the church of England, to disobey where she required a compliance; but, above all, he was too intent upon making advances in the Christian life, to omit a duty all along observed by devout men, and acceptable to God under the Old and New Testament, both as it was helpful to their devotion, and became a part of it. I must not here forget to take

notice of the particular regard he always paid to Good Friday, called by the ancient fathers, *the chief and greatest of days, the mistress of all solemnities, the holy and adorable day of our Lord's salutary passion.* It is very difficult in country villages to prevail on people to attend the public worship upon any week-day, by reason of that constant application wherewith they follow their worldly affairs; but in order to persuade his parishioners to a strict observation of this great Christian fast, he always had a sermon besides the service of the church to bring them together, and as long as he was able, he was no less constant in preaching it himself. The sense of our Saviour's sufferings was on such occasions warm upon his mind, and he never failed at such times to work upon the tender passions of his hearers, since it was the sins of mankind that drew upon the blessed Jesus the painful and shameful death of the cross. And what preacher would neglect so favourable an opportunity to advance the love of his dear Redeemer in the minds of men, by a lively representation of those inexpressible sorrows, which he suffered in his last bitter passion for the salvation of souls? 1662-9.

XIV. If we follow Mr. Bull from the performance of his pastoral duties into his own family, and consider him as the master that governs it, we shall still find him acted by principles of true piety; and indeed, as the apostle observeth, *If a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?* If he hath not a true concern for the souls of his wife and children and servants, and doth not make use of all favourable The religious government of his family.

1662-9. opportunities to instil the fear of God into their minds; how is it possible he should have zeal enough to set forward the salvation of others, where the obligations are less, and the endearments weaker? But in this particular, as well as in many others, Mr. Bull approved himself to be *a workman that needeth not to be ashamed*, for he exercised a pious care in training up those under his charge in the worship and service of God. Every morning and every evening the family were called together to offer up their prayers to their great Creator and Preserver. This is a duty certainly incumbent upon all masters of families, because it tendeth so very much to the glory of God, and the welfare of those under their government; but more particularly belongeth to a clergyman from the nature of his function, so that if he neglecteth this morning and evening sacrifice, it is a shrewd sign, that his mind hath but a small tincture of true religion, and that he hath no great regard to his own function.

Upon these occasions Mr. Bull did not give himself the liberty of using prayers of his own composing, though he was very well qualified for what is called extempore prayer, if he would have ventured upon such a presumptuous undertaking in public, for he had great quickness of thought, and could express the desires of his soul in a very decent and affecting manner; but he esteemed the praying by a form the safest and best method to secure devotion. Those he used were either composed by bishop Taylor, or, of late years, were taken out of *The Common Prayer Book the best Companion*, and on Wednesdays and Fridays the Litany office. A portion of Scripture was read at the same time;

and when the nature of the subject or the difficulty of the place required it, he would expound several passages as they were read; and very often, after prayers were ended, before the family was dismissed, he would make some remarks upon them. A method very edifying, and tending to the improvement of those under his care, which by degrees must enter them into the true sense of the holy Scripture, and give them a right taste and relish for those inspired writings. Upon Sunday evenings there was the addition of a chapter out of that excellent book, *The whole Duty of Man*, than which we have none more fit for general and constant use; and this was for the farther instruction of his family, particularly of those who had been deprived of going to church, by reason of the necessary services of the house. 1662-9.

His conjugal affection discovered itself not so much in fond words and expressions, as in performing all those substantial duties to which the vow of matrimony obligeth; in conjugal chastity, and in his tender care of his wife in times of sickness, upon which occasions he never failed to express the deepest concern, and spared no expense to procure her recovery. His paternal love displayed itself in the religious education of his children: he took care to train them up in the ways of piety and virtue, and brought them into an early acquaintance with the principles of Christianity; and did not neglect that correction of them which his nature was averse to, but which his reason and judgment obliged him to comply with, as necessary to secure their education. And therefore when he did not spare the rod for the good of his child, he was sure to suffer more pain than what he inflicted. Besides, he bestowed no

1662-9. small pains upon the instruction of his son, Mr. George Bull, who had few equals for his piety and learning, (of whom we shall have a sorrowful occasion to speak hereafter,) though he had little or no teaching before he went to the university, but what he received from his father. And though his wife and children were his principal concern, yet his servants were not neglected, for they were part of his charge, and therefore he expected to be accountable to God for them. If any in that rank could not read, he would assign one of the family to be their teacher, with orders to instruct them in the principles of religion; whereby great good was done to both, since there is a reward prepared for the charity of the teacher, as well as for the improvements of the disciple. The neglect of any of his own affairs by his servants never provoked him so much as their absence from prayers in the family; and nothing but absolute necessity was admitted as a justifiable excuse.

His private devotions.

But the better to judge of the character of his devotion, we must enter with him into his closet, and observe the frame of his mind in the common and ordinary occurrences of life. There is great reason to believe, that he was very frequent in his private prayers; and by his rising early and going to bed late, he secured retirement sufficient for that purpose. Besides, they who lay near his study, made discoveries of that nature from the warmth and fervour and importunity used in his spiritual exercises, when he thought all the family safe at rest; and the way he took sometimes to express the pious and devout affections of his mind by singing of psalms, made it more difficult to be concealed. It is true

indeed, that he hath left no compositions of this kind behind him, which maketh it reasonable to suppose, that in his closet he gave the desires of his soul a freer vent, and that when he conversed with God alone, he presented him with the natural language of the heart, which He chiefly regards; and how well he was fitted and qualified to perform this after an excellent manner, hath been already declared. And after all, he had so lively a sense of his own inability to discharge the important duties of his holy function, and so great a zeal to promote the salvation of those souls which were committed to his charge, that it is not to be wondered if he was very earnest with God in private for the continual supplies of his grace to strengthen and invigorate his best endeavours, and that all his flock might be filled with the knowledge of God's will in all wisdom and spiritual understanding, that they might *walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God.* It is a true observation of that judicious prelate, bishop Sanderson, "[u] That the kingdom of God must suffer "violence, and that the people will not ordinarily "be brought into it without some force: but let me "tell you," saith that great divine, "it is not so "much the violence of the pulpit that doth the deed, "as the violence of the closet." For though *Paul planteth, and Apollos watereth, it is God that giveth the increase.* So that in order to make the spiritual building perfect, the wise pastor must be as instant with God to secure his flock, as he is importunate with them to work out their own salvation; he must without ceasing pray for them as well as instruct 1662-9.

[u] Vol. Serm. fol. p. 464.

1662-9. them, whereby his labours will bring more comfort to himself, as well as more profit to his hearers.

The pious frame and temper of his mind.

The constant frame and temper of his mind was so truly devout, that he would frequently in the daytime, as occasion offered, use short prayers and ejaculations, the natural breathings of pious souls; and when he was sitting in silence in his family, and they, as he thought, intent upon other matters, he would often, with an inexpressible air of great seriousness, lift up his hands and eyes to heaven, and sometimes drop tears. And as a farther evidence of this true Christian frame of spirit, he took great delight in discoursing of the things of God, particularly of His love and mercy in the daily instances of His watchful providence over mankind, and the right use that ought to be made of it. He would often recount to those he conversed with, the wonders of divine goodness already vouchsafed to himself and his friends; their happy and amazing escapes out of several sorts of dangers, their unexpected good success, not without rejoicing in the Lord; and invite others to tell what God had done for them; of which he would make a noble use by way of religious inference and exhortation, till he made the hearts of his hearers burn within them. And indeed they who can pass all the hours of their conversation, which take up so great a part of their lives, without making any reflections of this nature, for fear of the lash of some scoffing wits, who are apt to call it canting, appear to me to want that sense of a Deity upon their minds, which is necessary to make them serious. I am sure, in all other cases, where our heads and hearts are engaged, we naturally discover it by our tongues; for *out of the abun-*

dance of the heart the mouth speaketh; and it is difficult not to run into such discourse as is ready prepared for us by the constant application of our thoughts. And therefore I think we may safely conclude, that whoever maketh religion his main business, and loveth God above all, cannot be better entertained in conversation than by such topics, which tend to cultivate and promote piety, and every thing that is praiseworthy; neither will such an one readily omit any reasonable occasion that offers itself to advance and instil the sense of religion into the minds of others. 1662-9.

His singing of psalms in his private devotions.

Before I quit this head of his private devotions, I must beg leave to observe, that singing the praises of God made a part of his spiritual exercises in his retirement, which he chose to celebrate in the words of the royal Psalmist, as translated into metre for that purpose. A duty recommended by St. Paul in several of his Epistles; and yet how few can be prevailed upon to join in psalmody, when it is made a part of the public service of the church! And still there are fewer who perform it with that intenseness of mind, and application of thought, and reverence of posture, as such a solemn part of worship requireth from us; where the great Majesty of heaven and earth is the object we address to, and where the acknowledgment of His infinite perfections, and thankfulness for the mercies we receive, is the worship we design to pay. It is very fit indeed, that this part of the public service should have all the advantage imaginable of agreeable harmony, consisting both in voices and musical instruments, because we ought to offer to God that which is most excellent in its kind. But however it must be re-

1662-9. membered, that these are only to be used as helps to raise our souls to a higher pitch of devotion, and are of no value in the sight of God, any farther than they express the gratitude of our hearts; for if we permit ourselves to dwell too much upon the skill of the performance, and suffer our minds by the pleasure of the ear to be carried away from a serious attention to the matter, the religious worship of it will begin to sink; and though there may be melody in the composition, yet by this means there will be none in the heart, which God chiefly regards. But the generality of those who do not join in the singing of psalms, and who are otherwise very serious, excuse themselves from the bad poetry of the old version, wherein there are several old words used which are now out of date, and several odd phrases that give them great offence. Now though this objection doth affect only some parts of the version, if it should be allowed to have its full weight, yet certainly it is no great argument of a devout mind, to be diverted by little things from a duty substantially good in itself.

The singing psalms of the old version defended by bishop Beveridge.

But notwithstanding these objections, the excellent bishop Beveridge hath defended the old version in a particular [x] discourse upon that subject; and after having impartially weighed it and compared it with the new, giveth it by much the preference; as keeping closer to the sense of the original text, and by being composed in a plain and low style, lying more level to the capacities of the common people,

[x] A Defence of the Book of Psalms, collected into English metre by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, with critical Observations on the New Version compared with the Old. Printed for R. Smith, 1710.

who are far the greatest part of the kingdom. That as to the old words, they are few, and easily explained, and purely English; whereas the style of the new version is much more unintelligible to the vulgar, by a great mixture of words derived from the Latin, French, and Greek, and often rather a paraphrase upon the text, than the text itself. And I wish the authority of this great man may prevail as much now he is dead, as his example did while he was alive, in this matter which we are now considering; for I have with pleasure beheld the conformity of the whole congregation to his own devout practice, who constantly stood with reverence while he sung the praises of God; and when he went into the pulpit, he neither altered his posture, nor forbore to join with the congregation till the psalm was finished. 1662-9.

The character of his sermons.

And now I have named this great and good man, I cannot forbear acknowledging the favourable dispensation of Providence to the age in which we live, in blessing it with so many of those pious discourses, which this truly primitive prelate delivered from the pulpit; and I the rather take the liberty to call it a favourable dispensation of Providence, because he gave no orders himself that they should be printed; but humbly neglected them, as not being composed for the press. But this circumstance is so far from abating the worth of the sermons, or diminishing the character of the author, that to me it seemeth to raise the excellency of both; because it sheweth at once the true nature of a popular discourse, and the great talent this prelate had that way. For to improve the generality of hearers, they must be taught all the mysteries of Christianity, and the holy institutions belonging to it; since it is upon

1662-9. this true foundation that the practice of Christian virtues must be built, to make them acceptable in the sight of God. And then all this must be delivered to the people in so plain and intelligible a style, that they may easily comprehend it; and it must be addressed to them in so affecting and moving a manner, that their passions may be winged to a vigorous prosecution of what is taught. If I mistake not, the sermons of this learned bishop answer this character; and I am confirmed in this opinion by the judgment of those who are allowed to have the greatest talents for the pulpit, as well as for all other parts of learning. He had a way of gaining people's hearts, and touching their consciences, which bore some resemblance to the apostolical age; and when it shall appear that those bright preachers, who have been ready to throw contempt upon his lordship's performances, can set forth as large a list of persons whom they have converted by their preaching, as I could produce of those who owed the change of their lives, under God, to the Christian instructions of this pious prelate, I shall readily own that they are superior to his lordship in the pulpit. Though, considering what learned works he published in the cause of religion, and what an eminent pattern he was of true primitive piety, I am not inclined to think that his lordship will, upon the whole of his character, be easily equalled by any one. But to proceed.

Mr. Bull's manner of governing this parish.

XV. In the governing this parish of Suddington, Mr. Bull observed the same method which he had prescribed to himself in that of St. George's near Bristol, which hath been already mentioned. And

certainly nothing could better answer the end and design of his function, than a constant watch over the conduct of his flock; that the seed he sowed in such plenty might not be scattered by the winds of violent temptations, nor be destroyed by the evil one, who goeth about *seeking whom he may devour*. This personal acquaintance of a minister with his parishioners will give him a great advantage in forwarding their spiritual welfare, provided it is chiefly employed to that purpose. For besides that profit which redoundeth to them from the thing itself, this tender and compassionate regard towards the people will create in them a great love for his person, and a cheerful attendance upon his ministry, which are admirable dispositions to prepare the mind for instruction. And I think no man ought to be deterred from attempting this, because some inconsiderate minds censure it as an affectation of popularity; for to endeavour to procure the love and good-will of the parishioners, is so far from being a fault in a parish priest, that I look upon it as his duty, it being the likeliest means to make his labours among them effectual. All the mischief of popularity is, when men betray their consciences rather than displease men, and sacrifice their duty to the breath of the people; when, by mean and unworthy arts, they court that applause which is only due to merit; and rather than forfeit the favour of the lord of a manor, comply with him in his follies, and yield to his sacrilegious encroachments. But there is no danger that a clergyman, who understandeth the weight of his employment, and hath a zeal for the salvation of souls, will ever vouchsafe to be popular upon such terms. 1662-9.

1662-9. But to excite all the parochial clergy to this watchfulness over the conduct of their flock; they have a pattern of it in the High-Priest of our profession, the blessed Jesus, who with particular assiduity applied himself to form and preserve those disciples which his Father had committed to his care. He lived among them, supporting all their weakness, and compassionating their infirmities; he instructed them in public and in private, and hid no truth from them which might be profitable for them, and which they were able to bear. He hardly suffered them out of his sight, but when he retired into some solitude, and then he remembered them in his prayers. This love and care of his disciples appeared not only in those his addresses to Heaven, which preceded his passion, but when he was delivered into the hands of his enemies, he seemed to forget himself in respect of them, *If you seek me*, saith he, *let these go their way*; as if he had been concerned for nothing so much as the preservation of his disciples: notwithstanding his bonds, and the violence of his persecutors, he did not forget his chief apostle, but reached forth his hand to raise him from his unhappy fall, fulfilling to the last those words of Scripture, *Having loved his own, he loved them unto the end.*

He confirms two ladies that were wavering in their religion.

While Mr. Bull was rector of Suddington, the providence of God gave him an opportunity of fixing two ladies[y] of quality, in that neighbourhood, in the protestant communion; who had been reduced to a very wavering state of mind, by the arts and sub-

[y] [One of them was the countess of Newburgh. See the preface to the Vindication of the Church of England.]

tleties of some Romish missionaries. Their specious pretences to antiquity were easily detected by this great master of the ancient Fathers; and by his thorough acquaintance with Scripture, and the sense of the catholic church, in matters of the greatest importance, he was able to distinguish between primitive truths, and those errors which the church of Rome built upon them. He had frequent conferences with both these ladies, and answered those objections which appeared to them to have the greatest strength, and by which they were very near falling from their steadfastness; for one of them he writ a small treatise, which she had requested from him, but no copy of it is to be found among those papers he left behind him; nothing remaineth of it but the remembrance that it was written, and that he did thereby succeed in establishing the lady in the communion of the church of England[z]. Both the ladies always owned with the greatest sense of gratitude this signal service they received from the learning and capacity of Mr. Bull. None can well apprehend how grievous a state of human life doubt is, in matters of consequence, but they who feel it; and therefore no wonder if they blessed that happy instrument, by which fresh light was conveyed into their minds, and those uncertainties cleared up which they laboured under in reference to matters of the greatest moment[a]. The method indeed they took 1662-9.

[z] [This treatise was afterwards discovered, and published by the bishop's son, Robert Bull, with the title of *A Vindication of the Church of England.* It was written in 1671.]

[a] [It is singular that Nelson's own wife was converted to the Romish faith by Bossuet: she was the lady Theophila Lucy, widow of sir Kingsmill L. bart. and second daughter of George

1662-9. was prudent and Christian, to seek for knowledge at those lips which are appointed to preserve it, and to bring their doubts to their own pastors before they submit to the authority of others. And I question not but for this reason, among many, God thought fit to give them the satisfaction they sought for; and if others, who are assaulted after this manner, would take the same course, I doubt not but that they would find the same success.

A ridiculous story of a Quaker's challenge.

The only dissenters he had in this parish were Quakers, who resisted all the endeavours he made to bring them into the church, for they were as obstinate as they were ignorant: who by their impertinent and extravagant manner caused him often no small uneasiness. And of this number was one who was a preacher among them, who would frequently accost Mr. Bull; and once more particularly said he, "George, as for human learning I set no value upon "it; but if thou wilt talk Scripture, have at thee." Upon which Mr. Bull, willing to correct his confidence, and to shew him how unable he was to support his pretensions, answered him, "Come on then, "friend." So opening the Bible, which lay before them, he fell upon the Book of Proverbs; "Seest "thou, friend," said he, "Solomon saith in one place, "*Answer a fool according to his folly;* and in "another place, *Answer not a fool according to his* "*folly;* how dost thou reconcile these two texts of "Scripture?" "Why," said the preacher, "Solomon "don't say so;" to which Mr. Bull replied, "Aye, "but he doth." And turning to the places he soon

earl of Berkeley: she died in the Romish communion, A. D. 1705.]

convinced him; upon which the Quaker hereat being much out of countenance, said, "Why then "Solomon's a fool;" which ended the controversy [b]. 1662-9.

[b] [This person may possibly have been John Roberts, who was also sometimes called Hayward, a man of considerable note among the Quakers. He lived at Siddington during the time that Bull was vicar, and had meetings at his house, as appears from the life of him, written by his son Daniel Roberts in 1725, and republished in 1786. This book furnishes us with some anecdotes connected with Bull, which do not set him in a very amiable light: but it must be remembered, that they are reported by a man who felt himself aggrieved in the person of his father, and who writing after the lapse of several years could hardly have recollected minute conversations; though he says, that he was "careful to pen them down in the same words they were "then expressed in." I shall therefore give extracts from this book without making any farther remark as to the credit which is due to them.

Not long after 1665, Roberts was put into prison for taking part with three of his friends, who were accused of interrupting the service of the church. It is not stated that this happened at Siddington; but it seems probable; and we are told, that "these "standing in the steeple-house with their hats on, though they "said nothing, the priest was silent: and being asked, *If he was* "*not well?* he answered, *He could not go forward while those* "*dumb dogs stood there.* Whereupon the people dragged them "out: and the priest afterwards informing a justice that *they* "*interrupted him in divine service*, they were bound over to the "quarter sessions." p. 9. If this happened at Siddington, the priest was probably Bull.

In the next anecdote Bull is mentioned by name. "He was "afterwards cast into prison at Cirencester by George Bull, vicar "of Upper Siddington, for tithes: where was confined at the "same time, upon the same account, Elizabeth Hewlings, a "widow of Amney, near Cirencester. She was a good Christian, "and so good a midwife, that her confinement was a loss to that "side of the country; insomuch that lady Dunch, of Down-Am-"ney, thought it would be an act of charity to the neighbour-

1662-9. **As Mr. Bull was intent upon the spiritual welfare of his parishioners, by performing the part of a dili-**

His charity to the poor and indigent.

" hood to purchase her liberty, by paying the priest's demand, " which she did." p. 16. In a conversation which she afterwards had with Roberts, she asked him the reason of his being in prison; to which he replied, " Because for conscience-sake I can't pay an " hireling priest what he demands of me: therefore he, like the " false prophets of old, prepares war against me, because I can- " not put into his mouth." p. 18. After some more questions and answers, she told her servant to *go to the priest's attorney, and tell him she would satisfy him.* J. Roberts. " If thou art a charit- " able woman, as I take thee to be, there are abroad in the " world many real objects of charity on whom to bestow thy " bounty: but to feed such devourers as these I don't think to be " charity. They are like Pharaoh's lean kine; they eat up the " fat and the goodly, and look not a whit the better." p. 19. The last sentence confirms what Nelson tells us, that Bull " in " his younger years was thin and pale." When this conversation happened he was between thirty and forty years of age.

Sometime after this, Roberts was summoned before the bishop of Gloucester (Nicholson) for not going to church; and when he expressed a desire to see his accusers, the bishop told him, that it was the minister and churchwardens; (p. 31.) which agrees with what Nelson says, that Bull tried all in his power to bring the Quakers to church.

In another conversation with the same bishop, the expressions which he used concerning Bull were extremely abusive. Speaking of a former vicar of Siddington, he says, " I was bred up " under a common-prayer-priest, and a poor drunken old man " he was: sometimes he was so drunk he could not say his " prayers, and at best he could but say them; though I think he " was by far a better man than he that is priest there now." Bishop. " Who is your minister now?" J. Roberts. " My min- " ister is Christ Jesus, the Minister of the everlasting covenant: " but the present priest of the parish is George Bull." Bishop. " Do you say that drunken old man was better than Mr. Bull? " I tell you, I account Mr. Bull as sound, able, and orthodox a " divine as any we have among us." J. Roberts. " I am sorry " for that; for if he be one of the best of you, I believe the Lord

gent and pious pastor among them; so he was not less concerned to relieve their temporal wants when 1662-9.

" will not suffer you long: for he is a proud, ambitious, ungodly " man; he hath often sued me at law, and brought his servants " to swear against me wrongfully. His servants themselves " have confessed to my servants, that I might have their ears; " for their master made them drunk, and then told them they " were set down in the list as witnesses against me, and they " must swear to it; and so they did, and brought treble damages. " They likewise owned they took tithes from my servant, thresh- " ed them out, and sold them for their master. They have also " several times took my cattle out of my grounds, drove them to " fairs and markets, and sold them, without giving me any ac- " count." Bishop. " I do assure you I will inform Mr. Bull of " what you say." J. Roberts. " Very well: and if thou pleasest " to send for me to face him, I shall make much more appear to " his face, than I'll say behind his back." p. 42, 43.

" Some time after this, the bishop and the chancellor in their " coaches, and about twenty clergymen on horseback," stopped at Roberts' house on their way to the visitation at Tedbury. p. 49. One of these clergymen was Bull, as appears by the following story: for after the bishop and some others had drunk of the ale which Mrs. Roberts offered them, we read, " My father then " offering the cup to priest Bull, he refused it, saying, *It is full* " *of hops and heresy.* To which my father replied; As for hops " I cannot say much, not being at the brewing of it; but as for " heresy, I do assure thee, neighbour Bull, there is none in my " beer; and if thou pleasest to drink, thou art welcome; but if " not, I desire thee to take notice, as good as thou will, and " those who are as well able to judge of heresy." p. 52. Before they parted, the bishop said, " I want some more discourse with " you. Will you go with me to Mr. Bull's?" J. Roberts. " Thou knowest he hath no good-will for me. I had rather " attend on thee elsewhere." Bishop. " Will you come to-mor- " row to Tedbury?" J. Roberts. " Yes, if thou desirest it." Bishop. " Well I do. The bishop then took his leave, and went " not to George Bull's; at which he was very much offended." p. 53, 54.

Roberts went to Tedbury, while the bishop was there, and

1662-9. the necessities of the poor required his assistance. He had not the least tincture of covetousness in his temper; hospitable he was to all his neighbours, and they never wanted relief who were known to him to stand in need of it. When he visited any poor sick

being asked by him, "Will you promise to go to your own parish "church to hear divine service?" he answered, "I can promise "no such thing. The last time I was there, I was moved and "required of the Lord, whom I serve, to bear my testimony "against a hireling priest, who was preaching for hire, and divin- "ing for money: and he was angry with me, and caused the "people to turn me out. And I don't intend to trouble him "again till he learn more civility, except the Lord require it of "me." p. 55, 56. In this same conversation the bishop told Roberts, that he had heard Mr. Bull say strange things of him, that he could tell where to find any thing which was lost, as well as *any cunning man*. p. 60. Roberts related to the bishop the circumstances of each of these stories; and it must be acknowledged that he divested them of every appearance of the marvellous, and added, "though this is no more than a common acci- "dent, I find George Bull hath endeavoured to improve it to my "disadvantage." p. 63. After the explanation of another story, which the bishop had heard from Bull, he said to Roberts, "I "wanted to hear these stories from your own mouth; though I "did not, nor should have credited them in the sense Mr. Bull "related them: but I believe you, John." p. 65.

This conversation happened not long before 1671, when the bishop died. Some time after this, Roberts was again imprisoned in Gloucester gaol, and the charge seems to have been the same as before, that he held conventicles in his house instead of going to church. p. 80. He died in 1683, two years before Bull left Siddington.

It is singular, that there was a kind of connexion by marriage between Roberts and Bull's son George. Nelson informs us, that the latter married a granddaughter of sir Matthew Hale: and, in the Life before alluded to, we find that Roberts married Lydia Tindal, and that Matthew Hale, afterwards lord chief justice of England, was her kinsman. p. 6.]

family, his prayers and his alms went ever together upon those occasions. He would send largely to poor housekeepers in the time of their distress, when they were visited with sickness, or had sustained any great loss. But the widows and orphans of clergymen, who were unprovided for, were the constant objects of his care and concern; he usually gave liberally himself, and was very active in procuring charities from the gentry in the neighbourhood upon such occasions; and his character was so valued among persons of the best figure, that he seldom solicited the cause of the poor, but they found the benefit of such an advocate. His particular method in doing good for a great part of his time consisted in keeping poor children at school; he was very sensible of the advantages which attend that sort of charity; so that where the parents were poor, he became a father to their children in the care of such an education, which was not only of use to them in the world, but very instrumental in promoting their eternal salvation. 1662-9.

His usual discourse upon this subject was, that when we give to the poor, we do good to ourselves; not so much because God is sometimes pleased to bless our charity with an increase of our earthly substance, as because they who *abound in good works* acquire an interest in the prayers and benedictions of the poor, which he was persuaded did prevent them from falling into many dangers in this life, and were of mighty prevalence with God, through the merits of Christ, toward their eternal salvation and admission into his heavenly kingdom. He would strengthen the first part of his proposition with the authority of St. Jerome, from the following His sentiments upon charity.

1662-9. passage[c]; "I do not remember," saith he, "that I ever "read, that any one who abounded in acts of charity, "and was glad to distribute, died an evil death or "came to a bad end; for such a man hath many "intercessors, and it is impossible that the prayers "of many should not be granted." The latter part he grounded upon the words of our Saviour, *And I say unto you, Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations*, Luke xvi. 9. which he interpreted after this manner. "By the riches bestowed in almsgiving make the "poor your friends, that when you fail, i. e. die, "they, the poor which you have made your friends, "may receive you into everlasting habitations; that "is, that God, looking upon the almsdeeds you "have done, and hearing the prayers and blessings "of the poor, may reward you with eternal life, ac- "cording to his promise." He would be very angry with those people who pleaded Scripture for stinting their charity, abusing that sacred text, 1 Tim. v. 8. *But if any provide not for his own, especially those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.* The occasion of which words, he would say, was this, viz. "There was a "bank of charitable collections in the house of the "bishop, out of which the apostle appointed the "poor widows to be relieved, when he saith, *Ho- "nour widows, that are widows indeed*; ver. 3. "that is, relieve and maintain them; but he would

[c] Non memini me legisse mala morte mortuum qui libenter opera charitatis exercuit; habet enim multos intercessores, et impossibile est multorum preces non exaudiri.

" not have them cast upon the charity of the church, 1662-9.
" if they had relations of their own, who were able
" to maintain them, ver. 4. and saith, that those
" who neglected so to do were worse than infidels.
" So that he would say, this text made against covet-
" ous people, who were most apt to neglect their
" poor relations: that it did require charity to poor
" relations, but gave no manner of countenance to
" those miserable worldlings, who did covet and
" keep all to themselves in order to enrich and raise
" their families."

His only diversion, agreeable conversation.

XVI. I cannot find that after he entered into holy orders, he was ever addicted to any innocent pleasure, which is often necessary to unbend the mind, and to preserve the body in health and vigour.. If there was any thing that looked like a diversion, it was the enjoyment of agreeable conversation; the best that neighbourhood afforded, he was always master of, because he was a welcome guest wherever he made any visits. But what he chiefly loved, was, to receive learned and good men at his own house, especially those of his own profession; and they could never entertain him better than by supporting the conversation with inquiries into subjects of divinity, or of any other part of learning. For the compass of his knowledge was so extensive, especially in all parts of theology, that he never seemed to be surprised with any question of that nature; but could immediately, and upon the spot, without the least hesitation, give a pertinent and a full answer to it. His notions were so distinct and clear, that he could bring down the sublimest truths to ordinary capacities, and set the most abstruse points in so

1662-9. good a light, that you might easily and at once see through them. Some learned men, who have been very eminent for their improvements in all sorts of knowledge, have nevertheless conversed with so much reserve, that they have seemed to grudge the world the least fruit of their labours: but Mr. Bull better understood the use he was obliged to make of those talents which God had committed to his trust; and he did gladly communicate his thoughts to all those who had the happiness to converse with him; for where he could not learn, he delighted to make others wiser and better; and he was always ready to give light to any obscure passage of Scripture, to confirm any point of faith, and to represent any truth of the Christian religion to the best advantage. And what farther enabled him to shine in conversation, was, his extraordinary candour and modesty, whereby he never provoked those to expose their imperfections who desired information from him, but took the first opportunity to remove their ignorance, without seeming to take notice of it.

He prosecutes his studies with great application.

To say the truth, Mr. Bull's chief delight was in his books, and his study was the scene of his most exquisite pleasure; and he would freely own, with great assurance, that he tasted the most refined satisfaction in the pursuit of knowledge, that the present state of human nature was capable of; and that when his thoughts were lively and lucky in his compositions, he found no reason to envy the enjoyment of the most voluptuous epicure. His course indeed of study proved prejudicial to his health, because he dedicated the greatest part of the night to that purpose for many years together, and contented himself with little sleep, rising early and going to

bed late. But no extraordinary attainments are acquired without labour and pains; and the reason why he chose these hours for that purpose, was, because he secured thereby, what he could not otherwise promise himself, an entire freedom from noise and disturbance, and from all the interruptions of business and company. It is to this constant application of mind that we owe those learned and judicious treatises which Mr. Bull published in his lifetime; for during the twenty-seven years he was rector of Suddington, he composed most of them; as well as those sermons and discourses which are now offered to the consideration of the public. 1662-9.

It is to be lamented, indeed, that some part of his labour is perished, and that several smaller tracts which cost him much pains are entirely lost. It was too usual with him, from a modest opinion of his own performances, when he had finished a work of consequence, to be negligent in the preservation of it; and if he lent it out to be perused by a neighbour, he seldom remembered to call upon him to return it, if the borrower neglected to bring it back. It is thought that several sermons that were finished by him, are lost after this manner. There was a short treatise, the loss of which the Christian reader, who hath a veneration for primitive antiquity, will very much regret, and which was composed by Mr. Bull, in answer to this question, viz. *What was the posture of communicating in the blessed sacrament, before the doctrine of transubstantiation was received in the church?* In his reply, he proved from antiquity, that the practice in the most ancient times was for the communicants to draw near to the *bema*, or chancel, and there to receive the sacred Several tracts composed by him, lost.

1662-9. elements from the hands of the priest, in a bowing or adoring posture. This was writ at the request of his diocesan, bishop Frampton [d], who sat with great reputation for many years in the episcopal chair of Gloucester, but chose rather to lose his bishopric [e], and the rest of his preferments, than sacrifice the peace of his own mind, or comply with such terms which his conscience could not digest. And as it was composed at the desire of his bishop, so was it wrote in opposition to those who have taken the liberty to assert, that none besides a table-posture was used, till the doctrine of the corporal presence was first introduced into the church; which is so contrary to the practice of all antiquity, that it is certain, that anciently it was not permitted to any person whatsoever, except the emperor only, when he made his oblation, to go, during the time of divine service, into the altar-part of the church, which was then termed the *sanctuarium*, and is now by us called the chancel. And accordingly St. Ambrose would not permit the emperor Theodosius himself to communicate [f] in this part, but obliged him to retire as soon as he had made his oblation at the altar.

When Dr. Pearson was about vindicating the epistles of that apostolical bishop and martyr St. Ignatius, and some time before he published [g] his

[d] [It therefore could not have been written till many years after the time of which Nelson is now speaking; for Robert Frampton was not consecrated bishop of Gloucester till 1681.]

[e] [He was deprived in 1690 for not taking the oaths to William and Mary.]

[f] Vid. Theodor. lib. v. c. 18. Sozom. lib. vii. c. 25.

[g] [He published the *Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii* in 1672.]

admirable treatise upon that subject, Mr. Bull, 1662-9.
though very young, wrote a long letter to him in Latin, containing many excellent observations and solid arguments to prove that those epistles were genuine. Dr. Pearson returned him a large answer in the same learned language; wherein he gave him ample thanks for the pains he had taken upon that subject; acknowledged the great usefulness of his observations, and the strength of his arguments. This answer and the former tract were read by Mr. Archdeacon Stephens, son-in-law to bishop Bull, and present rector of Suddington, many years ago; a person very considerable for his piety and learning; and it is to him I owe the preceding account of the contents of them; but they are not now to be found. He wrote, besides this, a long letter to Mr. Glanvil, formerly minister of Bath, concerning the eternity of future punishments; and another upon the subject of popery, to a person of great quality; but nothing remaineth concerning them, but that they were wrote. Many other considerable letters of Mr. Bull's, and answers to them, would have entertained the reader very agreeably, if the author had not been too intent upon his studies to copy the one, and too negligent to preserve the others.

XVII. In the year 1669, he first printed that excellent piece, his *Apostolical Harmony* [h], &c. which was begun by him, when but young [i], with a view of 1669. He published his first book, called *Harmonia Apostolica*, &c.

[h] Harmonia Apostolica, seu binæ dissertationes, quarum in priore, Doctrina D. Jacobi de Justificatione ex operibus explanatur ac defenditur; in posteriore, consensus D. Pauli cum Jacobo liquido demonstratur, &c.

[i] [At the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven.]

1669. settling peace in the church, upon a point of the greatest importance to all its members. This book he dedicated to his diocesan the bishop of Glocester, Dr. William Nicholson, a very proper judge and patron, who had very much also encouraged and supported him in this work; for he was not willing, but with the approbation and direction of his superior under God, to adventure into the world upon an undertaking so difficult and hazardous as this did appear. And since this treatise tendeth so much to clear the doctrine of the apostles in the *fundamental point* of our salvation, and to shew the exact harmony betwixt them, as to the *manner* of obtaining it by Christ; and will also be of no small use for the reading St. Paul's Epistles with understanding; I shall beg leave to lay before the reader a distinct plan of the whole; as likewise the causes of writing it, and the treatment and success it met with, and the several batteries that have been raised against it; that they that are otherwise minded, may at least have no reason to complain, as if they were not fairly represented.

An account of this book.

Though this piece was not printed till the year aforesaid, yet it appeareth to have been [k] written eight or nine years before; whereby the first rise and design of it will be more clearly manifest, than it could have been, had we not known in what a notable juncture of our affairs the same was composed. For there having been, during the unhappy times of the *great rebellion*, a vast multitude of books written upon the subject of *justification*, by the hot men of the several parties, some of whom, in treating of it,

[k] Apologia pro Harmonia, &c. sect. 8. n. 5.

leaned too much to Popery or Judaism, others to Antinomianism and Libertinism, some again to Pelagianism and Socinianism, and others, lastly, to Manichæism and Fatalism; all very dangerous errors: and abundance of learned sophistry having been used in perplexing the plain and natural sense of the divinely inspired writers; and several hypotheses moreover invented purely to serve a turn, which did but the more still obscure what they pretended to clear up, and set at a wider distance those whom they laboured to reconcile by their strained and metaphysical subtilties; they not only disagreeing about what was meant by *justification*, but even by *faith* and by *works*, and indeed about every term that is made use of either by St. Paul or by St. James when they speak to this point: and so feigning one apostle to write concerning a *first*, and the other concerning a *second* justification; or else one concerning a justification before *men* only, and the other concerning the same before *God*; one concerning a *true*, the other concerning a *false* faith; with a multitude of other groundless inventions, utterly foreign to the minds of both the said apostles; and many foolish contests having been startled about words, that could have no other end but to raise a dust; there could nothing come forth more seasonably, if well done, than a treatise of this nature. 1669.

The causes and motives of his writing it.

Wherefore, there having been such a fierce contention raised concerning this article, by the writers of controversy, for about twenty years of confusion in church and state, not to mention what had passed before that time in other countries; our author having been then about five years in holy orders, according to the church of England, when by the restoration of

1669. the right heir to sit on the throne of his father, the church with him was restored to her former rights; though he then wanted above three years of thirty, thought it, however, time for him now to fix his principles, by going up to the very source, and by taking a fair review, according to the holy Scriptures and primitive antiquity, of such a point, as had evidently contributed to several great revolutions, not only in the church, but also in the [1] kingdoms and states of the world; and might, he thought, yet contribute to more: and a point also which was of the utmost consequence to be rightly understood for the guidance of conscience.

A particular obligation laid upon him to consider this controversy.

To the consideration of which, he was still in a more particular manner engaged by certain circumstances of life; for among the first flock that was committed to his charge at St. George's near Bristol, there were not a few wandering sheep, which had been misled into strange paths, through their not understanding the terms of the evangelical covenant, and by the unwarrantable confidence of false intruding shepherds were in the extremest danger of being lost. For the reduction of these he preached a sermon against the prevailing antinomian opinions, upon St. James ii. 24. which leading him gradually to a deeper inquiry into this matter, was, as I gather from his premonition to the reader, the first occasion of this discourse.

His preparation for writing it.

Whereupon he read over the New Testament, but more especially the Epistles, with this view, consulting the ablest commentators as he went along, and weighing their arguments indifferently, without re-

[1] Vid. Tull. Epist. ded. ad Justifi. Pauli, et Sleidan. Com. &c.

spect to the party, or communion they lived in. And still, for farther satisfaction of what was believed by the primitive Christians, in this great concern for obtaining a title to eternal happiness, he omitted not to consult the best writers of antiquity and venerable lights of the church. With the same view was the Liturgy, the Articles, and the Homilies of our church read by him; and diligently compared with their established rule, the *written word of God*, together with the truly ancient and catholic interpretations thereof. This let him into several other controversies, as depending upon this, and particularly obliged him to a survey of the times of reformation, and of the methods that were then taken both at home and abroad, as also of the principal characters of the first reformers; and being thus qualified, he set himself thoroughly to reexamine this cause, which gave birth to the Reformation. 1669.

The method which he took in collecting materials.

Upon this review then of the controversy, as it stood both betwixt papists and protestants, and between protestants one among another, he, for his own satisfaction, digested under proper places or heads, all that he could find material in any of them, relating to this evangelical dispensation. And this he did not only that he might form a right judgment upon them, but that he might be more capable of discharging the duty of his place, and of bringing in some others likewise to the discernment and acknowledgment of the truth; which was hereby made so very clear to him.

How he came to write in Latin.

But being sensible that too much had been written in English upon this subject; and that most of what was written was to little purpose, except to divide and distract people's minds; he therefore drew up in

1669. Latin a short *Harmony of the Apostles* as to this head, that it might be thoroughly considered by the men of learning and capacity, reasonably supposing that if they were set right in this great article, it would be more easily propagated among the vulgar and unlearned. For this end, he submitted his performance to the censure of his learned friends, and (as in duty he thought himself chiefly bound) particularly to his worthy diocesan; to which at length after mature deliberation upon the whole, and thinking it over and over again many times, he put his last hand, being then in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and sent it abroad into the world with their approbation, that it might serve as a manuduction to the candidates of divinity, who were to be set apart to instruct others.

The general scope and design of this treatise.

XVIII. This book consisteth of two parts or dissertations; the first of these explaineth and defendeth the doctrine of St. James; and the other clearly, I think, demonstrates the agreement and harmony of St. Paul with him, in this fundamental point of our faith and hope. But more particularly his aim and design in the *first dissertation* is to shew, "That "good works which proceed from faith, and are con- "joined with faith, are a necessary condition required "from us by God, to the end that by the new and "evangelical covenant obtained by and sealed in the "blood of Christ the Mediator of it, we may be jus- "tified according to his free and unmerited grace." For it is observable, that he every where throughout this treatise openly renounceth all pretence to any manner of merit of our own works; even so far as scarce to acknowledge that person for a Christian who

should advance or defend merit, properly so called; and nothing can indeed be more plain, than that in the whole affair of our salvation, and process of divine justification, he attributeth all to the meritorious obedience of the holy Jesus, as the blessed Author and Finisher of it. Of which obedience, his most precious death is, by our most excellent *harmonist*, declared to be the consummation and utmost completion: and to it are here ascribed the very greatest and highest things, that it was even possible for him to express. More particularly, 1669.

His great caution in treating this point of *justification*.

Of this meritorious obedience of Christ for us sinners, he plainly and roundly says, that this *alone* hath given satisfaction to the divine justice; that this alone rendereth the most holy and most righteous God propitious to sinful men; and that this alone is the efficacious cause of God's promising and offering us pardon and eternal life upon so very reasonable and equitable a condition, as in the Gospel is set forth. And he constantly moreover teacheth, both in the very Treatise and in the Apology for it, "That no man "can, without divine grace, and the assistance of the "Holy Spirit, as flowing forth from the precious side "of the crucified Jesus, perform the condition of the "Gospel-covenant." And, in a word, he most severely anathematizes the Pelagian heresy, as it is received by the Socinians and others, for derogating from the grace of God, and ascribing too much to the power of man in his fallen estate: and most frequently celebrates the praise of this divine grace so perfectly according to the mind of St. Paul, and the declaration of the church of England, both in her Articles and Homilies, that it may well be doubted whether any one can do it more.

1669. But notwithstanding all this caution of his, in the treating of this point, that had been rendered so abstruse, more by the laborious disputations of divines, than by the nature of the thing itself, or of the revelation concerning it; there was presently no small alarm both *in* the church and *out* of it, from Mr. Bull's performance, as if the church of England, and the whole *protestant* religion, were by it, *in danger*. For his departing herein from the private opinions of some doctors of our church, though in obedience to her *rule*, was by several interpreted for no less than a departing from the faith by her delivered; and his method of reconciling the *two apostles of our Lord*, how plain soever in itself, could not be made so plain, but that many being zealously affected for the names of Luther and Calvin, whom they honoured as the *two apostles of the reformation*, would be ready to take offence at it; as the event indeed proved.

The dissatisfaction of some protestant divines hereupon.

Upon an impartial inquiry into the grounds of this offence taken, it evidently appeared, that this was the very chief stone of stumbling, viz. the honour of the *first reformers*. And it seemeth, moreover, that this essay for union, by taking the *middle way*, could not please any of those zealous gentlemen, who never can think themselves safe enough from one extreme without they run into the other. Some there were more wise and learned than the rest, who yet approved it not, that they might not appear guilty of innovating, as they called it. And it could not be digested by them, either because it was not at first so very perfectly understood by several of our own divines, any more than by the dissenters from our communion, as most of the presbyterians, and many independents and anabaptists; or else because the prejudices

The occasion and grounds of this dissatisfaction.

which a great many worthy persons among us had sucked in from the narrow systems of *modern divinity*, and who had, during the great Rebellion in church and state, been educated in the predestinarian and antinomian notions, were too strong for them entirely to overcome, even with the help of the clearest light. 1669.

Hence in the same year there arose in the church no small contention, whether this interpretation of Scripture were conformable to the Articles of Religion, and the Homily of Justification therein referred to; some maintained with our author that it was; some doubted about it, and others downright denied it, and condemned it as heretical. There was many a hard censure passed upon the book and the author for some time, which is not to be wondered at; yea, there were not wanting then even men of some eminence in our church, who with all their might opposed him, probably out of a well-meant zeal, and would certainly have overwhelmed him and his doctrine, had it been possible. The judgment of the church of England variously represented.

But such, it appears, was the strength and evidence of his arguments, after the severest examination that could be made of them, as he daily won more and more friends to his side; and the greatness of the opposition against him did but the more contribute to establish the truth, among all the sober and candid inquirers after it; which could be only opposed because not rightly apprehended and stated. And how successfully he hath done this, I shall leave the reader to consider, not from the imperfect *abstract* which is here given, but from the effects they have manifestly produced, and that general conviction which hath commonly followed the *Harmony* itself, The effect which this contention produced.

1669. with the *Apology* for it. Some of the effects I may have hereafter occasion to mention. So that it shall here suffice to observe, in short, that they of the English clergy, who were the least favourable to it, became the greatest promoters of it, while by all their endeavours to suppress it, they made it effectually to spread the more, when the matter came to be duly and impartially scanned without those metaphysical niceties, which have only served to perplex a cause that might be understood without them. The opinion of some private doctors was at this time artfully cried up for the *judgment of the church of England;* and such an exposition was given to some of her Articles, even against her own authentic interpretation of them, as might set her at a still greater distance from the church of Rome.

The advantage by it to Mr. Bull's cause.

The best of it is, this contention was of no long continuance: for not long after this treatise was printed, and received with much applause on one side, and contradiction on the other; the sense of the church of England, as it is founded upon the word of God, came to be cleared up, by the care and diligence of those who were excited hereby, much better than ever it had been before: and by the sober manner of treating this controversy in both these dissertations, and the author's most serious protestation and appeal to Heaven, it pleased God to cool, by degrees, the minds of some, which had been heated about this matter over-much, through the intemperance of a truly laudable concern for the victory of faith: and to win over others entirely to the acknowledgment of the truth, which is according to righteousness and godliness, who had been before but too averse to it, out of jealousy of making void the Gos-

pel of Christ, and of setting up instead thereof a certain mixture of Judaism and Christianity; for so this was misrepresented to be. But the vanity of the charge, as also that of popery, was soon made evident to as many as would be content to read with their own eyes, which many did labour to affright them from. 1669.

XIX. In the year 1670, there were some animadversions of a learned divine made upon this treatise; which he, concealing his name, communicated in manuscript to several of the bishops, at the same time stirring them up by letter to make use of their apostolical authority in thundering out their anathemas against the doctrines here maintained, as pernicious and heretical, and contrary to the decrees of the church of England, and of all other reformed churches; who was quickly seconded in this by some others partly known, and partly unknown, of whom some that understood but little of the matter, were, as it often happens, the hottest of all against him, and were for pushing things to the utmost extremity; but moderate counsels prevailed for the most part, and the governors of the church were so wise, as not to intermeddle farther in this affair, than to keep the peace of the church committed to them. Animadversions upon his book.

There was indeed one great and good bishop, who, for reasons I am not well acquainted with, proceeded much farther than any of the rest of his order. This was Dr. Morley bishop of Winchester, who, whatever his own private opinion might be of the matter, seems to have been utterly against the reviving a debate of this kind at all, upon any pretence whatsoever, and not to have been so well satisfied, as some of his bre- The opposition it met with from three considerable men in the church.

1669. thren, with this performance of an author, who had done nothing before this to signalize himself, and whose youth was too great a prejudice for many to get over. But whatever were his motives for so doing, this learned bishop, in a pastoral charge to the clergy of his diocese, at his visitation, thought fit to warn them against intruding too rashly into things above them, and to prohibit them the reading of this book, or preaching according to it. Some heads of houses in the two universities were also of the bishop's mind: and there were some tutors too, that thought it incumbent on them to guard their pupils from the danger of what appeared to them, an innovation in the church. Dr. Barlow and Dr. Tully were among the most zealous to oppose the pacific method for reconciling the different systems about attaining salvation, by their rigid adherence to certain tenets by them formerly imbibed, and to some scholastic terms unsupported either by Scripture or antiquity. But though the first of these read public lectures against the *Harmonia Apostolica*, from the divinity-chair; and though the other made it his business to answer it at large from the press; yet it failed not to make its way through all opposition and contradiction, and to gain continually more and more ground, as it came hereby to be more read and considered. And so in a very few years the strife ceased; forasmuch as the victory was at last so complete, as none were found able to rally their forces in this cause against our judicious harmonizer. This is what is known to have passed within the church, as to the establishment of the peace thereof in this point, even as it is at this day. As to what passed without in relation to it, there is but little to be said here; per-

haps there may somewhat occur in the progress of this account, which will give sufficient satisfaction. However, the weapons of them within, and those without, are the very same; and by knowing the strength of the one, we cannot be strangers to that of the other. 1669.

And from others, either half-conformists, or non-conformists.

The author [m] of the *Animadversions* before mentioned, commonly cited under the name of the *Censura*, was the son of a very learned presbyterian, and strictly educated in those distinguishing doctrines which had lately been ratified by the *Westminster Assembly*. And the very first man that publicly appeared in print for these doctrines, against the book of the *Apostolical Harmony*, was Mr. Joseph Truman, a non-conformist minister, after whom came out Dr. Tully's answer to it. And last of all, Mr. John Tombes of Bewdly, a famous anabaptist preacher, on the part of the dissenters, undertook the same cause; as if the very foundation of the *reformation* were struck at by this attempt.

A review of his method for determining the sense of St. James.

XX. Now as the method of our author was always to seek truth at the fountain-head; whatever respect he might have for our first reformers, and some other great divines, both foreigners and natives, he could by no means take up with their authority, though never so pompously set off; but was for going directly to the very originals themselves, and for consulting the most ancient and unexceptionable witnesses, where any difference might happen to arise concerning them. Accordingly he betakes himself, in the very first place, to the holy Scriptures; and

[m] [Charles Gataker, son of Thomas Gataker.]

1669. here he prudently beginneth with that which is obvious and plain, rather than with that which is ambiguous and obscure: and so findeth in the simplicity of St. James, a key to the δυσνόητα of St Paul, those hard passages of which St. Peter makes mention. At least, there are such reasons for him to conclude that he hath found this key, as do bear the greatest resemblance of truth; for there appeareth nothing more simple and easy to be understood, than the plain proposition of St. James, "[n] That by deeds a man is justified, or that just works declare a man just, and not his faith only, let it be never so right and orthodox." It is also that declaration of St. Paul[o] himself, which he made at Antioch, that is by some of our learned men looked upon as the sum and substance of the whole Gospel: "He thereby testifying, that through Christ alone we are to expect justification and remission of sins; and consequently, that by our submission to the Gospel of Christ, not to the Law of Moses, we are acquitted by him, and placed in the number of the *righteous*."

The proposition of St. James farther explained.

And to make this yet more plain, he states and defends the proper sense of the word δικαιοῦν, against the learned Grotius; vindicating herein our translators, by whom it is rightly rendered, *to justify*. And here, by many testimonies both out of the Old and New Testament, he proveth, that it must needs signify such an act of God as is properly *judicial*; whereby he acquitteth the person accused, and by the law of grace in Christ, receiveth such an one to his favour, as if he were innocent, and perfectly just. So that the *principal* cause of such justification is, in

[n] Chap. ii. [o] Acts xiii. 38, 39.

the author's words, *mera et gratuita Dei Patris misericordia*; "the mere and free grace of God the "Father:" the *meritorious* cause of it is, the obedience of Christ both *active* and *passive*. And works of righteousness are, according to him, not properly any cause at all thereof, but merely a condition, *sine qua non*, as the schools love to speak, by God required in the evangelical covenant. This observation he draweth from the use of the particle ἐξ, as it is applied by St. James to works, and by St. Paul to faith. 1669.

Having thus explained the proposition of this first dissertation, according to the mind of the apostle, he proceedeth next to establish the truth thereof by several arguments. The first of which is taken from the express testimony of holy Scripture; the second, from the very notion itself of justification; the third, from the nature of faith; the fourth, from the proceedings of God in the day of judgment; and the fifth, from the *implicit confession* of the very adversaries themselves to this doctrine. This explication vindicated by five several arguments.

XXI. Now, under the first head, which is the *testimony of Scripture*, he hath two classes of texts, serving for confirmation of this doctrine, as before represented. The former is of those texts and passages that speak in *general* of good works, or of righteousness, as of a condition that tendeth to make us accepted of God, through his grace. And of this kind there are abundance of very obvious ones in the Prophets, in the Gospels, and in the Epistles. So that every one that runneth, may read, how acceptable in the sight of God *holiness* is; and find that obedience is no less necessary than faith, to Argument the first, from the testimony of holy Scripture.

1669. attain eternal life. The latter class is of those texts, in which some *special* works, as absolutely necessary to salvation or justification, are required of us by God. And of this sort, there are found also many clear and express passages, which one would think very sufficient fully to determine this matter. As particularly, all those places deserve to be noted, which require *repentance* as a disposition, without which none is capable of obtaining the forgiveness of his sins from God: forasmuch as these so evidently refer to the *evangelical state*, as to deny the same, would be to deny the whole Gospel. Now, under repentance, he will have to be comprehended these following good acts, viz. a true sorrow for sins past, an humiliation under the righteous hand of God, an hatred and detestation of sin, a confession of it, an earnest supplication for divine grace and mercy, the fear and love of God, a ceasing from evil, a firm purpose of new obedience, restitution of what hath been unjustly gotten, forgiveness of all them who may have trespassed against us; and lastly, works of beneficence and charity. Then he proveth, after this, that there is the very same regard had always by God to faith and repentance, in the pardoning of a sinner. And farther, that the faith, whereof in the New Testament there are so great and glorious things pronounced, is not to be taken for a single Christian virtue or grace, but for the whole body and collection of the divine virtues and graces, or, for a life *according to the Gospel*. Nay, he sheweth, that when it is taken in that particular and *limited* sense, it is so far from being the *instrumental* cause of our justification, as some pretend, that it hath not so much as the chief place among

those qualifications that concur to make us acceptable to God; it being ranked, even by St. Paul himself, but in the third order, as inferior not only to charity, but even to hope. However, though faith be lesser than charity in one respect, he readily yet grants that in another respect it is greater than charity, namely, as it is the foundation both of that, and of all the rest of the Christian virtues; and though faith doth not necessarily beget them; yet that it is apt, and in its own nature disposed so to do. The sacred texts of the first class by him insisted upon for the proof of his proposition, are these out of the Old Testament; Isa. i. 16, 17, 18. and Ezek. xxxiii. 14, 15, 16. and out of the New Testament, first, the words of Christ himself, in John xiv. 21, 23. and xv. 14. and next to him, those of his apostles, in Acts x. 34, 35. 1 John i. 7. Heb. x. 8, 9. 1 Cor. vi. 11. and 1 Peter i. 2. besides James ii. 24. So that an appeal is here made to the testimony of two witnesses under the Law, persons of a most eminent prophetical character; and to that of our Lord under the Gospel, accompanied not only with his disciples, Peter, James, and John, attesting the same truth, but also with the apostles of the uncircumcision, and most zealous assertors of Christian liberty. These texts are all clearly explained and vindicated from the exceptions of certain metaphysical disputants: and to these are also added several other by the judicious *annotator*, that are no less strong. Those of the second class are above twenty, of which I shall only mention the first and the last, than which nothing can be well more decisive; that Acts ii. 38. as in the name of the whole apostolical college, when the Holy Ghost descended upon them, 1669.

1669. and not of St. Peter only; and this Heb. xiii. 16. as the undoubted sense both of them, and their brother Paul, and of the whole Christian church both Hebrew and Gentile. Upon which he cites a saying of St. Chrysostom, *That without works of mercy repentance is dead*, and illustrates it by the practice of the ancient church at their receiving of penitents. Which is confirmed also by his explication of Dan. iv. 27. according to the oriental custom of speech; wherein he followeth Grotius, and prefers here the interpretation of the Seventy to our English translation, as more nearly approaching the propriety of the Chaldee original. For the Chaldee *pherak* is the same as the Hebrew *phadah*, signifying to *redeem:* and the vulgar Latin agreeably renders it, *peccata tua eleemosynis redime.* For as nothing is more certain than *that he shall have judgment without mercy, who hath shewed no mercy*, so on the other side it is equally certain, that *mercy rejoiceth against judgment;* and this rejoicing can never be without justification. As for the trifling distinction of *ante* and *ad*, in this controversy, by which it is pretended that works indeed of mercy and righteousness are necessary *before* but not necessary unto justification; it is here so baffled, both by the author and by his annotator, as there can scarce be a greater evidence of a bad cause, than to have recourse to such poor shifts and slender evasions.

Argument the second, from the juridical notion of *justification.*

XXII. Under the next head his method to establish this doctrine, as explained and defended by the testimony aforesaid, is from the notion and nature of *justification*, as exercised in courts of *judi-*

nature. Where he observeth, that in every judicial process there must be, 1. a *judge*, who is to pronounce the sentence: 2. a *prisoner*, or criminal, who is called to his trial: and, 3. a *law*, or rule, according to which the sentence must be pronounced, either *for* or *against* the prisoner at the bar. And in perfect analogy to this sort of proceeding in human courts, he takes notice, that if any man be said to be justified in the sight of God, whether it be by the works of the law, or by faith in Christ; in this case the prisoner that pleadeth at the bar is man; the judge is God; and the rule according to which judgment is passed, is either the law of Moses on one side, or the law of Christ on the other, the which is otherwise called the [p] *law of faith*; since no man can judicially be pronounced just, unless he be duly acquitted according to the rule of that law whereby he is judged, whether that law be the Mosaical or the Christian. Which latter he interpreteth to be the very moral law of God, as expounded and perfected by Christ on the mount, and expressly ratified by his own divine sanction, Matt. vii. 24. &c. And which is distinguished from the Mosaical law of ceremonial observances by several names; as, the *perfect law*, the *royal law*, the *law of liberty*, and the like; meaning hereby that law which is *perfective* of human nature, is a law given us by the mouth of Christ our *King*, and is conducive to our true *liberty*; that is, to a liberty not only from the yoke of Jewish ceremonies and ordinances, but also from the guilt and penalty of sin, and chiefly from the dominion and tyranny thereof in our flesh; 1669.

[p] Rom. iii. 27.

1669. through the assistance of Christ's Spirit, helping herein our infirmities, that we may fulfil the same. Whereupon not only the loose principles of the antinomians, libertines, familists, and others of that sort, are by him deservedly exploded: but they who allow their principles, and yet reject their conclusion, are fairly warned of the dangerous consequences which they seem not to apprehend; and the injudicious method of some protestant divines, in their controversies with the papists on this point, is taxed as it deserves.

Argument the third, from the notion and nature of *faith*.

The third argument, that ***justification*** is not by faith alone, in the strict acceptation of the word, is taken from the consideration of the very nature of ***faith***, and of the several acts that are generally assigned to it. And the sum of his argument is, that faith, *per se*, or considered as distinct from the rest of the Christian virtues, hath nothing in the nature of it, but what may well enough consist with an ungodly and unjustified person. For the acts of faith being by divines generally distributed into these three, 1. knowledge; 2. assent; and 3. reliance; he handleth each of these distinctly, and clearly proveth, that not one of them hath a natural aptitude to justify a sinner, or a characteristic to distinguish a reprobate from a saint. And there being no act of faith nakedly and *per se* considered, to which justification is necessarily joined; since knowledge without practice, the assent of the mind without the love of the heart, and the reliance upon the promises of the Gospel, without the sincere endeavour of performing the conditions of it, are of no worth before God; he concludeth that we ought firmly to believe, that no person can be justified in

the sight of God by faith alone, (as it is strictly taken,) without the other virtues, which Christ hath required together with it in order to that end. Particularly he sheweth, that the *knowledge* of the Gospel of Jesus Christ may be had by the wicked, as well as the most righteous. That there may be an *assent* also given to the truth of it by reprobates, yea even by devils; and that, lastly, there may be a *reliance* on the promise of it, either conditional or absolute, by them that are certainly in a bad estate: nay that it is not impossible to have *all faith*, and the very highest degrees thereof, and yet to remain still but in a doubtful and dangerous condition. And having very solidly treated this matter in all the several branches thereof, the reverend author telleth his reader what the true and Christian reliance by faith properly is, and wherein consisteth the only assurance of our salvation. This is fully argued from that famous passage in St. John's first Epistle, iii. 19, 20, 21. which is brought also as a farther confirmation of his hypothesis, that seemeth hence to be no other than the catholic and apostolical explication of the divine economy towards man. 1669.

XXIII. His fourth argument for the proof of it, is taken from the nature and manner of God's proceeding in the *day of judgment*. From which he thus reasoneth, that every one shall be judged by God in the world to come, after the same manner as he is in this present world justified by him: and that therefore since every one is to be judged at the last day by works, (according to Matt. xxv. 21. &c. compared with chap. xii. 36, 37. Rom. ii. 6, 13. Argument the fourth, from God's proceeding in the day of judgment.

1669. 1 Cor. iii. 13. iv. 4, 5.) and not by faith alone, without works; every one that is justified by God in this life, must be also justified after the same manner, that is, by works, not by faith alone. For the judgment of God is the same in the one as in the other, and changeth not. This I take to be the sum of his argument; still understanding by *faith*, both here and throughout the whole controversy, that which is strictly and simply so called, and which is comprehended under all the three acts or degrees mentioned in the former argument. Now he takes here the *middle way*, after Vossius and Grotius, in explaining Christ's solemn and declarative justification of his saints at the great day; which ought well to be observed. For he will not allow this to be by works, either as to the *meritorious cause* of it, as some do hold; or as the *signs of faith*, as others do maintain; the one being in his opinion too much, and the other too little. Wherefore there must be somewhat betwixt these two, according to the principles by him laid down. The justification of the righteous in this world and the next being both of the same nature, according to his proof both from Scripture and the common sense (as well as conscience) of mankind, he calleth the first of these *constitutive*, and the second he calleth *declarative;* and evidently sheweth the one of these to be the rule to the other, and both to be subject to the very same laws and manner of process; and only to differ in this, that the one is privately, the other publicly transacted. This is set in a true light both by reason and Scripture. Also the *two* acts of the sovereign Judge, in his last and more solemn justification of the righteous, are by him here rightly distin-

guished. And in this last, both his declaring them 1669.
just, and his appointing them consequently a *reward* thereupon, according to what is made appear in that day, is here proved perfectly to answer to the manner and constitution of the first; which St. Paul [q] calls *his Gospel*, and St. James [r] the *perfect law of liberty*. Whence he concludeth, that good works must be more than merely the *signs of faith*; forasmuch as a sign is always less than the thing signified. But *charity* that performeth these *good works*, is, if we may believe St. Paul himself, greater than faith; and by works also faith is made perfect, even as it was in Abraham, and in all the saints.

Therefore from the proceeding of God in the day of judgment, wherein his faithful servants shall be publicly justified, not only by their faith, but by their works also; and wherein both the first act of the supreme Judge for pronouncing them just, and the second for decreeing them a suitable reward, shall have respect to the works they shall have wrought in the flesh, in obedience to the new covenant; it is evident, that the works of charity, which *make* faith *perfect*, are more than the bare signs of it, as some divines would pretend; and that charity, which is the root of them, and is, without controversy, greater than faith, the Holy Ghost witnessing as much, must be greater, for certain, than to be a sign only of faith. So then charity, and works proceeding from it, being more than a sign of faith, but not so much a *meritorious cause*, it will follow, that we may so avoid both the extremes, as yet not to deny, but that good works are a condition, *without*

[q] Rom. ii. 16. [r] Chap. i. 25.

1669. *which none* can be justified by God either in this life or the next, according to the terms of his covenant. And if there be any degree of *moral instrumentality*, as they term it, in faith, for the attainment of this blessed end, the same cannot be altogether wanting in this most excellent gift of charity, or in the obedience which is founded upon it, and is the fulfilling and perfection of that faith which pleaseth God. The appeal is here made to the judgment-seat of Christ, and to his own express declaration concerning the process of that great day. And certainly if his words have any weight with us, they must leave no small impression upon us in favour of the doctrine here contended for, and so strenuously defended by this great and good man.

Argument the fifth, from the concession of adversaries.

His fifth and last argument is taken from the implicit consent of all parties, and from the very confession of adversaries to this doctrine. And here he justifies the *public confessions* of the reformed churches in this point, as being all or most of them on his side; since notwithstanding that they may in terms declare, *that a man is justified by faith alone without works*, it is certain, if we may allow of their own exposition, that by *faith* they understand *grace* which answereth to it; and that the plain meaning is, *a man is justified by grace alone, and not by the merit of works*. For this they must mean, as he proveth, if the authors of those very confessions may be depended on to understand their own meaning. So that in writing against some odd doctrines, he is very far from laying them to the charge of any Christian society: he only speaketh of the private opinions of some divines who profess themselves to

follow those confessions, but who mistake and misapply them. He proveth moreover, that these very divines who understand not the confessions and articles of their own body, and thence oppose the catholic doctrine in this point, do yet as good as confess it to be the truth, by certain hypotheses which they have set up, even to shelter themselves from the force of it. 1669.

XXIV. The first hypothesis is, That the faith which *justifieth* must be a *living* and not a *dead faith*, or a faith *fruitful of good works*; whereby they distinguish it from *historical* and from *miraculous faith*. And here he exposeth handsomely the weakness of such disputants, as make the whole of the controversy to depend hence on a little metaphysical subtlety, namely, whether faith *that* is living, or else faith *as* it is living, be required as necessary to our justification. And he fully demonstrates the absurdity hereof, and that it is impossible upon their supposition, even to make out any sense of St. James at all. For, first, this apostle most expressly declaring, that a man is justified ἐξ ἔργων, *by works*, the particle ἐξ, *by*, or *out of*, must manifestly denote somewhat more than an idle concomitance. Since if the whole business of justification could be done and finished by faith alone, or of itself, it would be absurd to assert, that a man could in any sense be justified by works. And then, secondly, speaking of the faith of Abraham, he declareth, how *faith wrought with his works*, and how *by works his faith was made perfect*, ii. 22. The apostle hereby both clearly maintaineth the *cooperation* of faith and works in the affair of justification, im- The first concession concerning a *living* or *operative faith*.

1669. mediately before mentioned, ver. 21. And moreover that faith of *itself* is imperfect, and can never be brought through to the end of justification, except as it is made perfect by works. And, lastly, after having distinctly considered the several objections and evasions that have been invented against this plain literal sense, he thinketh he may safely and without heresy make the apostle's conclusion, according to the clear grammatical meaning of the words, his own; forasmuch as whosoever contendeth that a man may be justified *by faith only*, and that *works do nothing* in this matter, is even as ridiculous and absurd, according to the principles of the apostolical age, as he that should offer to affirm, that a man liveth by the *body* only, and that the *spirit* or soul doth contribute nothing to man's life; that is, if the parallel of this apostle, ver. 20. be just, and his reasoning be allowed to be good.

Second concession concerning the *necessity of good works to salvation.*

A second hypothesis therefore to salve up this matter, the former being found so insufficient, is, *that good works are necessary to obtain salvation.* This is almost generally received by the reformed divines, that hold the other side of the question; especially by the more moderate sort of them: and some of them do mightily triumph in it, supposing that they have hereby secured themselves against all the evil consequences and contradictions to Scripture, which are charged upon the *solifidian* doctrine. Which position they explain after this manner, saying, that works are indeed a condition necessary to obtain, according to God's promise, *salvation*, but not that any one should hereby obtain a *right to salvation*, this right being *freely given to faith only in justification*. But that this is a mere evasion is

fully shewn, both by Scripture reasonings, and by the very evidence of the proposition itself; so soon as the same is but explained. For he that granteth good works to be a condition, which must necessarily be fulfilled by a Christian for the obtaining of life eternal, according to God's promise, doth at the same time clearly confess, that the right to eternal life is not to be obtained without works. And again, he that denieth any right to salvation to be acquired by works, doth contradict the clear and express testimony of the Holy Ghost, who saith, *Blessed are they who do his* COMMANDMENTS, *that they may have a* RIGHT *to the tree of life*, Rev. xxii. 14. There is no possibility of avoiding the force of this evidence, as well as that of several others in the New Testament, more especially these three, 2 Thess. i. 5, 11. Heb. vi. 10. and 2 Tim. iv. 8. without entirely subverting the authority of the sacred writers; or at least making of them (as some have profanely jested) a nose of wax. Since, undoubtedly, if the reward of eternal life, called *a crown of righteousness*, be given by the Lord as the *righteous Judge*, for what we shall have wrought, and for having *fought a good fight;* there must then of necessity be acquired by what we have *wrought*, a *right* to the reward, according to God's gracious covenant in Christ. And except this right be given in justification to *love* as well as to *faith*, and the *works* thereof, the word of God is hence plainly made void. Neither can we deny the right given, but by denying at the same time God to be *righteous*, who hath freely given a right to those that *love* him, and hath actually obliged himself to *remember* in mercy those that *work out* their salva- 1669.

1669. tion, by virtue of the said covenant. For if we know any thing, this we know for certain, that God is *not unrighteous*, that he should forget the *work and labour of love*, which any of his saints have *shewed towards his name:* and if so, then they must have some right by this their *work and labour*, in virtue of his promise, to be accepted and justified by him. Wherefore good works wrought out of a love unfeigned, and upon principles purely evangelical, are not only a necessary condition of obtaining *salvation*, which is granted; but also of obtaining *a right to salvation*, that is, a disposition to be *justified:* which was to be proved.

An objection answered.

And whereas it is objected by them that are against this right, though it be confessed to be the free gift of God, that the making of good works any ways needful to justification, doth both detract from the merits of Christ, and contradict the words of St. Paul; it is prudently and solidly retorted upon them, that for the very same reasons their own hypothesis must fall also to the ground. Since as to the *merits* of Christ, our *salvation* no less than our *justification* is wholly to be attributed to them; we being freely saved as well as freely justified for *his* sake. And as to St. Paul, it is manifest that the works which he disputeth in his Epistles, are by him excluded from *salvation* as well as *justification*. Consider particularly, Tit. iii. 5. and Ephes. ii. 8, 9. which will set this matter beyond doubt. Thus endeth his first dissertation, and his catholic exposition of St. James.

The proposition of St. James de-

XXV. In his second dissertation his main scope is to demonstrate, as the very title expresseth, the

good agreement of St. Paul and St. James in this matter. And how well he hath performed this, there is not required much learning to judge; but a faithful comparison of Scripture, with a moderate stock of common sense. The proposition of one apostle is, *That by works a man is justified, not by faith only.* The proposition of the other apostle is, *That a man is justified by faith without the works* (νόμου) *of the law.* Both these propositions are most true in themselves, and do perfectly well accord. And there could have been no difficulty concerning them, had either the state of the controversy in the apostles' days been attended to as it ought, or persons had not come with their modern opinions and prejudices to read the apostolical epistles; not so much very often to learn what is the truth, as to establish themselves thereby, in what they are already, by the tradition of a sect, prepossessed with to be truth. 1669. monstrated, to accord with the sense of St. Paul.

To pass by now the several wrong and unwarrantable methods, which have by learned men been taken, in order to reconcile the *seeming* opposition of these two apostles, in a point so very material as this; which are particularly considered in the three first chapters of this discourse, and there deservedly exploded; our author cometh to the true solution of the knot in the following chapters. And having in the first place established this one point for his foundation, *That St. Paul is to be interpreted by St. James, and not St. James by St. Paul,* in consent with many of the ancients, (and particularly of St. Augustine himself,) who are of the opinion that the General Epistle of St. James, the First of St. John, and the Second of St. Peter, with that of St. Jude, He shews both the *false* and *true* way of solving the difficulty.

1669. were written against those, who by misinterpreting St. Paul's Epistles, had imbibed a fond notion, as if faith *without works* were sufficient to save them; he sheweth whence this obscurity and ambiguity in the terms of St. Paul might probably arise, which was the occasion that persons not well grounded came to *mistake* or *pervert* the same.

How the term *justification*, as used by St. Paul, is to be interpreted.

Now this can be no otherwise he thinks, than by not understanding what this apostle meaneth by *justification*, or by *faith*, or by *works*. Having then stated the true notion of the term *justification*, as a judicial act of God absolving man; and pronouncing him just and blessed, according to what was before by him laid down and proved; he inquireth next into what St. Paul meaneth by faith, when he maketh it the necessary qualification of our being judicially absolved, or justified in God's court. And then, lastly, he examineth what those works are which are totally excluded by the apostle from any share in our salvation, or in God's acceptance.

How the term *faith* in this controversy is to be interpreted.

As to *faith*, by making St. Paul here his own interpreter, he plainly sheweth, that in all such places, where justification is by him ascribed to it, thereby is to be constantly understood, the whole condition of the evangelical covenant; comprehending in it all the works of Christian piety, as grounded upon a firm belief thereof; and that in opposition only to the Jewish false teachers, who preached up justification by the *works of the law*, St. Paul delivered his doctrine of justification by faith, i. e. by the Gospel.

First argument, that St. Paul meaneth

Which notion of the Christian faith, as it is taught even by this very apostle, he solidly explaineth and defendeth, by several parallel passages, such as

these, viz. First, *For* (to the hope of justification by *faith* waited for, ver. 5.) *in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by* LOVE, Gal. v. 6. Second, *For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a* NEW CREATURE, vi. 15. Third, *Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping the* COMMANDMENTS *of God* IS ALL, 1 Cor. vii. 19. compared with the words of our Saviour, John xv. 14. and Matt. xii. 50. And this he doth here farther illustrate and confirm by all those passages, where either the apostle expoundeth *faith* by *obedience*, or else speaketh of the *obedience of faith*: as particularly, when he saith, *they have not all obeyed the Gospel*, Rom. x. 16. there interpreting and applying the words of Isaiah, who crieth out, *Lord, who hath believed our report*, or *preaching*? Isai. liii. 1. which obeying the Gospel or obedience of faith, he declareth in the same Epistle to be λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, *by word and deed*; xv. 18. Whence it is plain, that by *faith* we are here and elsewhere, as often as it is supposed to act *instrumentally* for our justification, to understand that only which *worketh by* charity, and which is the same with the *new creature*, and containeth in it the *keeping of God's commandments*: and that *believing* and *obeying* the Gospel do in his writings signify the very same thing, which is called by him the obedience of *faith*, the obedience of *Christ*, and simply *obedience*, Rom. i. 5. xvi. 19, 26. 2 Cor. vii. 15. x. 5, 6. compared with James i. 22. Rom. ii. 13. as also with 1 Pet. i. 2, 22. where to *purify* the soul in OBEYING *the truth*, that is, the Gospel; and the

1669. such a faith as implies obedience.

1669. *sanctification of the Spirit unto* OBEDIENCE, which is by casting down all human imaginations and reasonings against the truths of God, and *bringing into captivity every thought to the* OBEDIENCE *of Christ*, must needs be the same with *purifying the heart by faith*, and the being *sanctified by faith*, in Acts xv. 9. and xxvi. 18. And forasmuch as it seemed good to the Holy Ghost to join, both with this same obedience to the faith, and the sanctification to this obedience, the *sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ*, which is uncontrovertedly our *justification*, it will necessarily follow, that the *Christian obedience*, by which the soul is purified and sanctified through the Spirit and blood of Christ, must not be understood to be different from that faith which both *purifieth* and *justifieth*, according to the language of the very same apostle, as from abundance of places doth appear: and this is that faith which is properly called *fides formata*, being faith *formed and quickened by charity*. Thus St. Paul's sense is from parallel passages, to which many more might be added, made clear; whence the true notion of Christian faith and obedience will be found not hard to be comprehended; this is his first argument.

Second argument, that St. Paul means such a faith as containeth obedience.

Another argument that St. Paul meaneth here no other faith, but such as containeth in it obedience, and cannot be separated from charity, is taken from that famous passage of his in 1 Cor. xiii. 2. where he maketh nothing at all of *faith alone*, or *faith by itself*, yea of the very highest faith, unless it be animated and informed by Christian love and obedience. For as to the vulgar objection, that the apostle is here speaking only of *miraculous* faith, or

of some such faith at least as is imperfect, or superficial and counterfeit; this he thinks is most easily refuted by a very little attention to the words of the text and their connexion. Because, first, the apostle speaketh here expressly of all *manner* of faith, as well as of all *manner* of knowledge; and thus, using the same term, he elsewhere speaketh of all *manner* of affliction, or *any* affliction, 2 Cor. i. 4. Secondly, the miracle-working faith is the highest degree of faith; there being no other faith as considered in *itself*, that is greater and nobler than this: if any will therefore own this faith to be nothing in the sight of God, though it includes the highest degree of assent to the Gospel of Christ, they must consequently grant, that there is no manner of faith, which *nakedly* considered, can avail aught to a man's salvation. Thirdly, there can be no doubt made, but that the apostle is here writing of *true* and *evangelical* charity; and not of any inferior sort, which sometimes may be called by that name: but if one part of the comparison be *true* and *real*, so must the other part be likewise. For if charity that is *true* be preferred only to knowledge that is *unsound*, and is falsely so called; or to prophecy that is *pretended*; or to the understanding of mysteries that is *imaginary*; or to faith that is *untrue* or *dead*; such a comparison would be as ridiculous, as to compare the strength of a child with that of a lion, and to prefer the child's strength in making nothing of the lion's, hereby meaning a *living child*, but a *dead lion*. Fourthly, it is by all generally owned, that at the end of this chapter no other but true and perfect faith is to be understood: but if so, then also must it necessarily be under- 1669.

1669. stood at the beginning of the chapter after the same manner, the whole being one continued discourse, otherwise the apostle would be inconsistent with himself.

Third argument, that St. Paul meaneth such a faith as containeth obedience.

A third argument for this acceptation of the word *faith* in many places of St. Paul's Epistles, not according to the simple, but the complex sense thereof, is taken from that remarkable text, Rom. ii. 13. (interpreted by chap. xiii. 10. Gal. v. 14. and James ii. 8.) where he expressly declareth the observing of God's commandments to be needful to justification; by determining, that it is not the *hearers* or believers that are justified *before God*, but that the DOERS *of the law shall be* JUSTIFIED. Nothing, one would think, can be more plain than this, yet neither is this all; the whole current of the revelation of the New Testament constantly supposing no less, as in it is contained a body of divine precepts and rules, wisely adapted to perfect human nature, and to justify as many as are conformed thereby to the will of God. This one passage of St. Paul being applied to the *perfect law* of Christ, is as good as a thousand. Wherefore, to omit others, let it be sufficient to observe here from our author, that this is paralleled very fitly with that of St. James, *Be* DOERS *of the word, and not hearers only;* and with the express sayings of Christ himself in Matt. vii. 21, 24. John xiv. 21. and xiii. 17. Now it is plain that *love* is the fulfilling of the law under the new evangelical dispensation; and that the *law is fulfilled* hence *in one word.* And this he farther corroborates from another passage in the same Epistle, expounding δικαιοσύνη by δικαίωσις, that the antithesis may more clearly appear, and so making the

sense to run thus: *Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto justification*, that is life eternal, chap. vi. 16. 1669.

Thus is St. Paul's justification by *faith*, and not by *legal works*, explained according to the analogy of his own writings, and of the other Scriptures of the New Testament. Which done, he proceedeth to inquire into the ground of this manner of speaking. And this, without doubt, must be because faith is the beginning and root of all evangelical righteousness, and the first principle of all true religion, Heb. xi. 6. without which, no saving virtue is or can be in man; and which, not being obstructed, will kindly draw after it all the rest of the virtues as they are in Christ. For if we believe in him, we are thereby led cheerfully to obey him, and to submit to his discipline, and to his wise and holy institutions. The ground of this manner of speaking.

XXVI. But besides this, there are two reasons why St. Paul, in describing the condition required on our part for salvation, maketh use of *faith*. And these are, 1. That he might express to us the *easiness* of the condition. 2. That he might thence exclude all human *merit*. As to the *easiness* of the condition on man's part, for obtaining justification, it was impossible to express it more emphatically, than by *faith*. For what can be more easy, than to *believe*; especially when there is all the reason in the world for our belief; and where, *not to believe*, is the greatest folly and insensibility imaginable? Or what, again, can contribute more to depress the *merit* of all flesh, and to exclude all boasting, than The first reason why St. Paul useth *faith* to describe the condition required from us.

1669. to ascribe nothing to what we do, even in that which we do, but to give the sole honour of all to the grace of God in Christ; into which we cannot be initiated but by faith? So that as the new covenant is more easy than the old; if in the old there might be some pretence of *meriting*, there can be none at all in the new. Whence, both to express how much greater facility there is of *evangelical* than of *legal* justification; and to make void all the pretensions of man, by virtue of his own performances; there is here given such an interpretation of those words of Moses and St. Paul, Levit. xviii. 5. Deut. xxx. 11, 12, 14. Rom. x. 5, 10. which describe the righteousness both of the Law and of the Gospel, and compare them together, as to shew the real and distinct ground of each, and to manifest wherein the prerogative of one revelation above the other, doth properly consist. The sum of which is this: "The "righteousness," he saith, "which is of the law, "prescribeth very many and grievous command-"ments, but containeth no sufficient promises to "encourage a man to the obedience of them; but "that which is of faith, prescribeth only a few and "easy commandments, such as in themselves are "highly recommendable, and suited to the perfec-"tion of our natures; and exciteth us also to the "performance thereof by the greatest and most cer-"tain promises, and by the assurance of all those "helps at hand, that we can even wish for or desire." And the foundation of all this he makes to be a steadfast belief, that it is possible for a man to *ascend into heaven;* and that even notwithstanding that he may have *descended into the deep*, he must yet return again. All which is demonstrated to us by the

history of our Saviour's *ascension*, as is here shewn: and no less likewise by that of his *death* and *resurrection*, being so convincingly attested. So that whoever shall doubt of this matter, he may even as well think to *bring* Christ himself *down* from heaven, who is thither ascended; or else to deny that Christ was ever put to death in the flesh, and raised again from the dead by the Spirit. Wherefore the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ into heaven, being once firmly believed, the whole substance of Christian religion is made thereby most *easy:* so that we may truly then say, *his commandments are not grievous;* for to him that believeth are all things made easy. And *this is the victory that overcometh the world*, according as the Holy Ghost witnesseth, *even our faith*. Which victory is therefore ascribed to faith, because it is faith that both encourageth us to the battle, and assisteth us in it with the whole divine armour; and maketh the grace of God, the merit of Christ, and the aid of his Spirit, to be herein all in all. 1669.

The second reason, why faith is used to express evangelical obedience.

And this faith expressing *evangelical obedience*, doth moreover exclude all *merit:* because, 1. It supposeth the *revelation*, and calling on God's part, first granted to man out of *mere grace*, before his performing any obedience to God; and that therefore he doth perform that obedience, which is expressed by the word of faith, not by his own might and strength, but through God preventing him with his love and mercy, and graciously revealing his mind to him. 2. Because it not only supposeth a divine revelation, but also such promises as may excite a person to set about these works, which he would never otherwise have attempted, had he been never-

1669. somuch before persuaded of his duty so to do. The texts brought by him for confirmation and illustration hereof, are these, viz. 2 Pet. i. 4. and 1 Pet. i. 23. compared with James i. 18. Also St. Peter's doxology, 1 Pet. i. 3. and Abraham's blessing, Gal. iii. 14. which are very express in this case, and may receive farther light from Heb. xii. 2. 3. Because so far as it regardeth the promise, it expecteth no reward but only from the *free* undeserved grace of God promising it. And this he taketh to be the chief reason why the Holy Ghost is wont to express the Gospel-obedience by faith, to shew that this obedience which we yield through faith, doth not obtain salvation *sua vi aut merito*, "by its own "efficacy or merit," but *vi pacti*, "by virtue of the "covenant," or free promise; which by faith is apprehended. Texts for confirming and illustrating this, by him made use of, are these, viz. Gal. iii. 18. Rom. iv. 13, 16. This for *faith*.

How the term *works* is to be interpreted in this controversy.

XXVII. As to *works*, and the ambiguity in the use of this term, as sometimes opposed to *faith*, he next proceedeth to shew, from the whole intent and scope of St. Paul, in his disputation with the Jews and Judaizing Christians, both in his Epistle to the Romans, and in that to the Galatians, that he and St. James are perfectly of a mind; that the works excluded by one, are also no less excluded by the other, and on the contrary; and that to understand what is meant by *works*, in the writings of the apostles, we must have a regard to the controversies which were then on foot. In proving this, he is very large and clear: and particularly, occasion is taken by him, from the divine sermon of our Lord

upon the mount, to state this matter with all exactness, and to demonstrate the conformity of the design, both of the Master, and of his disciples; as proceeding upon the very same principles, eyeing the very same objections and prejudices, and carrying on together the very same cause, even that of evangelical righteousness, notwithstanding some difference of style and method. Hereby is given us a noble prospect of the Christian religion; and a most delightful view withal of those bright and gracious works, which follow the blessed that die in Christ for their justification, is there faithfully represented to the reader. 1669.

Works wrought by the *Spirit*, to be distinguished from all other works.

But here, above all, it is necessary that the works which are thus graciously received of God for Christ's sake, forasmuch as they are wrought by the operation of his own Spirit, be rightly distinguished from all other works, let their appearance be never so great and good; which, however they may justify us before men, can have no share in justifying us before God. And this is done so well in this discourse, and in the two vindications of it, as it will be hard for any to mistake the one for the other, that will mind but a little what is herein so very clearly delivered. For as there is a living and a dead faith, so likewise there are living and dead works; which must by no means be confounded. As to faith, it is certainly dead without works; and no less certainly are works dead without faith: the separation of one from the other, is almost like the separation of the soul from the body.

Faith and works constitute the Gospel-covenant.

Whence there can be no doubt, upon the reasonings of this treatise, but that *faith and works*, or the *works of faith*, or *faith working by love*, or

1669. *faith and repentance*, are properly the terms of the evangelical covenant; according to which, a man is accepted and justified of God. As to faith, there can be here no controversy, that being allowed by all.

All sort of *works* not excluded from justification.

As to *works*, if St. Paul again may be allowed to be his own interpreter, there will be no great, if any, difficulty in the matter, as our author fully proveth. For the true state of the case, according to him, is this: The Gospel of Jesus Christ did, from its very first preaching, labour under this great prejudice from the Jews, that it did contradict the religion and the law given them of God, by the hands of Moses, the mediator thereof, and confirmed to them by many and great miracles. Against this calumny, our Lord expressly defended himself in that most divine sermon of his upon the mount, shewing how he came not to dissolve or *to destroy, but to fulfil* and perfect the law: both by explaining those things in it more clearly, which had never before been explained, and by strengthening it with some more exact rules; and then also by inclining our minds to the obedience thereof, by the greatness and certainty of the promises, and even by the sealing, moreover, of the Holy Ghost. This is for the moral. And as for the *ritual* part of the law, that was by Christ so consummated, as to cease when the substance thereof appeared in him. This, nevertheless, the Jews were not willing to understand, as not discerning the end and purpose of God in giving the law, but concluding that it was to be everlasting; and that even as to all the ceremonials too therein contained. And he sheweth us how this prejudice continued, even with them that were converted to the faith of

Christ: so that there was need of an *apostolical council* to oppose it, and to determine for the *Christian liberty* against the *Mosaical servitude*. And that which both Christ and the whole college of his apostles did, is but prosecuted more at large by St. Paul, as he proveth against the aforesaid Jewish prejudice, when he writeth of the *Law* and the *Gospel*, or the *works of the law*, and the *obedience of faith*, and compareth them together. For which, and for other reasons, he collecteth, that St. Paul cannot mean *all* sorts of works, when he excludeth them from justifying; but only some sort of them, as works of the Mosaical law. 1669.

What sort of *works* rejected from justification.

Now the *works* rejected from justification by the apostle St. Paul, in his vindicating the most high preeminence and prerogatives of the Gospel, are, according to our author, 1. The *ritual* ones, which the ceremonial law appointed, and which Christ fulfilled. 2. The *moral* ones, before and without the grace of the Gospel, whether in the state of the law, or of nature. 3. All works of Judaical righteousness, both legal and traditional, as they are delivered by the Jewish doctors, and by the strictest Pharisees insisted on. 4. All manner of works whatsoever not founded upon Christ as the only Mediator; and which without respect to the covenant of grace established in his blood, put in any but the least pretence to the attainment of salvation. And none of any of these are set up by his brother apostle, as is evident from his whole Epistle. And, on the contrary, St. Paul is so far from denying, that moral works, proceeding from the grace of the Gospel, do by virtue of the *Gospel-covenant* effectually contribute to a man's eternal justification and salvation,

1669. that he is almost wholly taken up in demonstrating it; which is shewn at large in seven chapters of this discourse. And this is the very thing that is contended for by St. James. And the foundation of them both is our Saviour's sermon aforesaid, which both [s] beginneth and [t] endeth herewith; and is throughout a plain demonstration, that there can be no true justification under the Gospel, or attainment of blessedness, but by obedience as well as faith, and by the *following of Christ*; and that consequently, not only works of righteousness are required in order to it, but even such as surpass the righteousness of the very strictest of those that are under the law. This is the substance of the second dissertation: in which there are also several curious and learned discourses for illustration of the subject, concerning the preeminence of the evangelical dispensation above the legal, of the perfection of the Christian rule, of the mistakes about it, of the Jewish notions of justification, and of several other matters interspersed, which will deserve the attention of a careful reader.

Animadversions on the *Harmonia*, sent to the author.

XXVIII. About a year after this book was printed and published, there was sent a copy of it, with marginal annotations and animadversions to the author, after it had passed through several other hands before. They were written by a certain divine, who was altogether unknown to him. As he received them from his diocesan and patron, he set himself earnestly to consider them, and to review what he had printed.

[s] Matt. v. 3. &c. [t] Chap. vii. 24. &c.

In the year 1671, or thereabouts, the *Animadversions* upon his *Harmonia*, &c. which he had some time before received by the hands of bishop Nicholson, were discovered to him to have been written by Mr. Charles Gataker, the son of that learned critic Mr. Thomas Gataker of London, author of the *Dissertatio de Stylo Novi Testamenti*, &c. who was a member of that unlawful assembly of divines that met at Westminster, 1643, and was preparing to publish, after another scheme, an *Harmony* also *of the Two Apostles, James and Paul*, a little before he died; with whose papers the son being assisted, thought himself more than able to deal with our author, and even to overthrow his whole foundation. 1671. The *Animadversions* written by Mr. Charles Gataker.

How well Mr. Gataker hath succeeded therein, let any one judge, after reading over all the animadversions which he hath made, and comparing them with the book animadverted upon. After which, if he be not satisfied enough on which side the truth lieth, he may go on to read the reply to them; but if he be, he may save himself that labour. Now, the sum of what is contained in these animadversions may amount to thus much; It is not fit, he thinks, to explain St. Paul by St. James, as supposing this would be to make a single passage in the one, the standard whereby to interpret a great many in the other. Nor is he willing to allow of any obscurity at all in St. Paul's expressions; but contendeth for the plainness and fulness of his arguments in this case, against the doctrine explained and defended according to St. James, in our author's *Harmony of the Apostles*. He is not at all pleased with the term of *fides formata* or *animated faith*; because it The sum of the Animadversions. Animad. 1. Animad. 2.

1671. seemeth to make charity the soul of faith, or its constitutive form; and because the said term is taken up by the schoolmen, whom he inveigheth against as the great corrupters of the Gospel in this point. He chargeth the harmonist with confounding the [u] terms of Scripture, and with not reaching the sense of a common [x] Greek particle. He will not hear of the imputation of reward as a part of justification; nor is he content to have faith so far degraded as to be accounted only a condition of the Gospel-covenant, for he will have it to be a great deal more, even a real and efficacious *cause* of the righteousness obtained by Christ, or a *causal energy* in justifying a sinner. He distinguisheth betwixt the being *accepted* by God, and being *justified* by him; and granteth Cornelius to have been indeed *accepted*, but denieth him to have been *justified*, because of his good works. He alloweth not, that justification is properly meant by the sprinkling of Christ's blood, but will have sanctification referred to by it, in 1 Pet. i. 2. and other places. He denieth justification to be the same with remission of sins; and is positive that justification is no where in Scripture attributed to repentance. Nevertheless he denieth not that repentance and faith are the two conditions of the Gospel which Christ had joined together, and which none ought to put asunder. He disputeth not the obligation to repentance laid upon us; but maintaineth, however, that a man may be justified by faith, who shall want the opportunity of bringing forth the fruits of repentance, being prevented by death. He defendeth the *instrumentality*

Animad. 3, 4.

Animad. 5.

Animad. 6.

Animad. 7.

Animad. 8.

Animad. 9.

[u] Μισθὸν λογίζεσθαι and Δικαιοσύνην. [x] Ἐκ.

of faith, understanding by it, a certain *influence appointed by God for the obtaining of righteousness.* 1671.

He contendeth for the English protestant divines, that they have not suffered themselves to be transported too far in their disputes with the papists about this article. Animad. 10.

By the distinction of a *twofold righteousness*, the one of *Christ* imputed to the faithful, and by *faith* obtained; the other of the faithful, by himself performed, and by *works* exercised and shewn forth; he laboureth to surmount the difficulty of Christ's sermon on the mount, as an authentic exposition and declaration of the moral law, and his establishment thereof for his own law, by tempering it with evangelical grace. Animad. 11.

Moreover, he distinguisheth a *twofold law* of Christ, the one the *moral* law of God, the other the law of *faith:* and maintaineth, that a true and living faith is the only condition of justification according to the *evangelical law* of Christ, as contradistinct to the *moral.* Animad. 12.

He defineth saving faith to be *a lively inclination of the will, that is directed by the understanding now irradiated by the light of the Gospel, and moved by the Holy Ghost to trust in God through Christ the Mediator for eternal salvation.* Animad. 13.

He contendeth, that Christ's description of the day of judgment, in Matt. xxv. is *parabolical;* and that no decisive argument can thence be brought for the manner of his proceeding in that day. Animad. 14.

Yea, he insisteth, that if we are to be justified in this life after the same manner we shall be judged according to this parable, we must consequently be justified by *works alone*, without faith. Animad. 15.

His way of reconciling St. Paul with St. James, is by the distinction of a twofold justification, as respecting a twofold accu-

1671. sation, according to the different conditions of the covenant of works, and the covenant of grace. For he maintaineth, that we are accused before God, either as *sinners* or as *unbelievers;* and that we are justified against the first accusation by *faith alone*, laying hold on the grace and righteousness of Christ: and against the second, by *works*, and not by faith only, as these are the signs and evidences of our being true believers. He objecteth against the *complex* notion of faith, as inclusive of hope and charity with good works; that it is plainly contrary to St. Paul's foundation, who acknowledgeth no other but faith in the blood of Christ, *without works:* and therefore, without a contradiction to himself, cannot be understood to speak of a faith with works. He disputeth about the perfection of the law of Moses, and saith, that the law which is to be the rule of the last judgment, can be no other than a rule of perfect obedience. He derideth the distinction of justification *in the sight of God*, and *before the world*. The only reason for which he will allow St. Paul to deny that a sinner may be justified by the law of Moses, is the most perfect and absolute righteousness which he asserteth to be required by it, as a condition of justification; which condition no man can perform. He is very positive, that St. Paul had no intent to make mention of the defect of the law, and that he could draw no argument from the weakness of it against justification, though he might against sanctification, by it. He saith, that the grace of God, for the observance of the law, was not denied by the very Pharisees themselves; and that none, either Jews or Gentiles, did ever think they could be justified by works without God's grace;

Animad. 16.

Animad. 17.

Animad. 18.

Animad. 19.

Animad. 20.

even the heathens being so wise as to acknowledge 1671.
[y] *no man good without a divine genius assisting him.* And he concludeth that St. Paul doth speak only of Abraham, David, and such others, who were justified by the mercy of God through Christ, to whom God imputed righteousness without works. He is exceedingly displeased with those who make the promises and threatenings of the law to be only temporal; and chargeth this opinion with downright blasphemy, and with contradicting the express words of Christ, Luke xvi. 29. and John v. 39. In a word, he is very earnest for the perfection of the law given by Moses, in opposition to the several infirmities objected against it; and argueth for its fitness to produce true and genuine piety, from the book of Deuteronomy, and from the Psalms. And in the close of all, he severely animadverteth upon an appeal of our author to the judgment of the Church of England in her XIth Article, charging him with interpolating her doctrine, and the holy Scripture also; whereby he means, corrupting and depraving it by his additions. This is a most heavy charge against him; and his proofs ought to be very plain. The best cause in the world may be run down with clamour and confidence: but truth is never better supported, than by being modestly and simply proposed, with the arguments for and against it fairly represented, without reflection upon any for not thinking after the same manner with us. But this is not the method of the animadverter.

Animad. 21.

Animad. 22.

Animad. 23.

It were truly much to have been wished, that so masterly a writer as Mr. Bull, had met with, upon

The character of the animadverter.

[y] Χωρὶς δαίμονος οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός.

1671. his first setting out into the world, a more considerable adversary to manage, that so the cause might have been carried on with greater advantages, for advancing the truth simply, without respect to persons or parties; and that a great genius might not have been forced to condescend to such little matters, as he could expect to receive no honour from, if he conquered. Mr. Gataker appeareth to have been a person of great violence in his temper, but one well-intentioned, and a very zealous protestant; and had he had but more coolness of thought, and had he withal read more of the ancients, and fewer of the moderns, he would, I believe, have made no inconsiderable writer. But he not allowing himself time to think sedately, or even to examine sufficiently the sense of an author who pleased him not; being fired with a zeal for what he took for truth, from the systems which he had greedily sucked in, as authentic explications of the Gospel, entirely lost himself hereby, and exposed the very cause he undertook to defend. However, in this he is to be commended, that he was content to have his thoughts communicated to his superiors in the church, and to the author of the book which he attacked, without making them more public by the press. And bishop Nicholson was also certainly in the right, not to press Mr. Bull to publish the answer which he had prepared, notwithstanding all the foul language and provocation that was given him.

Mr. Bull's motives for taking so much notice of Mr.

XXIX. However, because nothing that was more considerable did yet appear objected against this work; and because he thought there did lie on him

an obligation both for his own sake, and the truth's sake, to vindicate himself and his book from those harsh and uncharitable censures which were cast upon him and it; and to endeavour to put a stop to those loud clamours most unjustly raised and fomented by others of the same fiery zeal against a proceeding of the greatest fairness and ingenuity: as also because the very sending him that printed copy of his *Harmonia*, &c. which came from Mr. Charles Gataker, stuffed throughout with his remarks and reflections written on the margins of it, together with other miscellany notes relating to this controversy, added both before and after the book by him, was looked upon by Mr. Bull, when he first received it, no other than a command of his spiritual superior, who sent it him, to undertake the answering of whatever therein might deserve any consideration; notwithstanding that this was not pressed upon him at all, forasmuch as the bishop would often tell him, that there was no great matter in these Animadversions, and that he himself made little or no account of them: he was yet resolved to steal some time from his other business, that he might shew the emptiness and the inconsistency of the arguments brought against him by this confident writer; which he hath done very largely and fully, and interspersed a great deal of curious and solid learning, wherever any occasion doth present itself: and hath frequently taken the hint from very trifling objections, to strengthen his former works, by several most material considerations and convincing arguments.

1671. Gataker's MS. animadversions.

1675. An abstract of his *Examen Cen.*

He very nervously defendeth the proposition of St. James, and his explication of it; and sheweth,

1675. by many arguments, that it is far more convenient and reasonable, that St. Paul should be interpreted by us, according to him, than on the contrary. He solidly vindicateth the phrase of *fides formata*, used by him, against his adversary's objections; and handles the question with great accuracy of judgment, *Whether charity may rightly be called* the form of *justifying faith?* which is decided by him affirmatively. He is full and clear in determining the question, *Whether the conferring a right to the kingdom of heaven, be properly an act of evangelical justification?* And here he shews, against the cavils of the animadverter, how the notion of justification, according to the Gospel, doth include in it necessarily the acceptance of a man before God to eternal life and salvation, or the *imputation of reward*. He proves the animadverter to be an innovator in the opinion which he would set up, and that he widely departs both from the Church of England, and from all other reformed churches, by his attributing to faith a *causal energy* of righteousness, distinct from that which is proper to it as a condition of the evangelical covenant. He defends his paraphrase of St. Peter's words recorded in Acts x. 34, 35. with much strength against the weak and peevish efforts made to oppose it: and his interpretation of another passage of the same apostle, 1 Pet. i. 2. not only by the authority of celebrated commentators upon it, but even of Calvin himself: the other testimonies also of Scripture, which had been brought by him, to evidence that some certain works are prescribed as altogether needful to justification, as particularly, *repentance*, and the *fruits* of it, are strenuously vindicated by him, against the negative

sure in answer to them.

Answer to Animad. 1.

Answer to Animad. 2.

Answer to Animad. 3.

Answer to Animad. 4.

Answer to Animad. 5.

Answer to Animad. 6, 7.

of his opposer. Whereupon there are four questions discussed by him very distinctly, to set the whole matter in its true light, viz. 1. *Whether there be any condition*, properly *so called, of the* evangelical covenant, *which is not likewise a condition of* evangelical justification? This Mr. Gataker affirms; and Mr. Bull denies, and proves the contrary. 2. *Whether even granting that there is not one and the same condition of these* two, *it be not yet certain, that* faith *and* repentance *are the conditions of one and the same* benefit, *namely, of* evangelical justification? Mr. Bull justifies the affirmative hereof, and clears it even to a demonstration. 3. *Whether* forgiveness of sins *doth enter into the notion or definition of* evangelical justification? The affirmative also of this is held by Mr. Bull, as the negative is by both the Gatakers, father and son; and is defended by many illustrious passages of holy writ with a great deal of force and perspicuity, not without sufficient answers to the objections made by either or both of them. 4. *Whether even granting that* forgiveness of sins *be not necessarily included in the* notion *of justification evangelical, it be not yet certain, that there is one and the same condition of* both benefits, *namely, of* forgiveness *and* justification? And this is determined in the affirmative by our author, even from the very concessions of his adversary, while writing against him. After this, he distinguisheth very rightly betwixt the *internal* and the *external* works of repentance: and demonstrates, that the former of these are absolutely necessary, even to that which is called the *first justification*. Then he disputeth against his adversary, about his notion of the *instru-*

1675.

Answer to Animad. 8.

Answer to Animad. 9.

1675. *mentality* of faith, in this great affair; and he distinguisheth also here betwixt a *physical* and a *moral* instrument; and maketh it evident, that faith cannot, with any propriety, be said to be a *physical instrument* of justification, or even so much as a *moral* one, without a manifest contradiction to the whole tenor of the New Testament. According to which, it is demonstrated by him, that if by a *moral instrument* be meant *a condition, or influence, for the obtaining of justification according to God's appointment*, then the conversion of a sinner to God, out of the love of God and charity, hath as proper a moral instrumentality to this end, as faith hath, according to the divine appointment, as manifested in the Gospel. Upon which head he hath likewise some curious and useful observations concerning the diversity of phrases and terms used by the sacred writers in this matter, and the reasons thereof. He proceedeth next to clear himself from the imputation of having censured the English divines for their precipitancy or inadvertency in handling this subject, or at least for their incautious management hereof, so as to give some colour to the excesses of the Antinomians, Libertines, and Familists: and not only sheweth the gross mistake of his adversary, in taking what was meant of some foreign protestant divines, to concern properly the divines of the Church of England; but retorteth closely upon himself, that very thing which he so warmly complaineth of to him. After this, he discourseth against the animadverter's opinion of the *imputation of Christ's righteousness*, and discovers the several very absurd and dangerous consequences which necessarily accompany it. And he sheweth in parti-

Answer to Animad. 10.

Answer to Animad. 11.

cular, how inconsistent such a notion is, either with the remission of sin on God's part, or with repentance on ours; and how it altogether taketh away the necessity even of faith itself, in order to justification: yea, that this being granted, it will thence necessarily follow, that a man's justification is even before his faith, with other such like absurdities. And, lastly, he proveth how this notion quite subverts the catholic doctrine of the universal propitiation made by the death of Christ for the sins of the whole world; upon which doctrine the very preaching of the Gospel doth absolutely depend. Afterwards he answereth also the several passages of Scripture which are usually brought for such a sort of imputation, by some superficial considerers, in derogation of the true terms required of God in the evangelical covenant. Then he pushes home his argument against the solifidians; that whosoever is justified of God by Christ, is absolved by the law of Christ; but no man is absolved by the law of Christ by faith only, without works; and consequently no man is so justified. And in vindicating this against his adversary, he exposeth the vanity of all his arguments to the contrary; and setteth forth in their proper colours the fond and erroneous opinions by him entertained. Particularly he takes a great deal of pains in refuting a fundamental error of this writer, concerning the *primary act* of justifying faith, or the *ratio formalis* of it, which he maketh merely to consist in *affiance*, strictly so called; that is, an act of recumbency upon the merits of Christ, and his *imputed* righteousness, and in laying hold of the evangelical promises. Whereupon he treats at large of the difference between *fides* and *fiducia*;

1675.

Answer to Animad. 12.

Answer to Animad. 13.

1675. and having formed several *conclusions* or *theses* concerning these, he unfoldeth this matter very distinctly and clearly. And thus having hereby overturned the main pillar of antinomianism, chiefly founded in an equivocal sense of words, he next proceedeth to maintain his argument taken from the divine proceedings at the last day, against the objections of this animadverter: and on this occasion sheweth the emptiness of his distinction of a right *ad rem*, and a right *in re*, which he had brought to evade the force of that argument. For Mr. Bull proves to him, upon his own very principles, that whosoever hath a title *to* any thing, must also have a title *in* it; and on the contrary: so that if charity hath a right or title *in* the kingdom of heaven, it must also have the same *to* it, by virtue of the evangelical covenant; even as faith. He examineth after this, both this and his father's method of harmonizing St. James and St. Paul, being the same with that of Placæus. This he doth with great exactness, and upon the review of the whole, compares their method with his own, that it might the more evidently appear which of them hath the advantage. Whereupon he defends against all the subtle attacks of his adversary, his own opinion concerning faith being always taken in a *complex* sense, as comprehensive of hope and charity with good works, whensoever, in Scripture, justification is attributed to it. And argueth, that his method of reconciling those apostles cannot be new, or of his own invention, which was approved by some of the first reformers; and since that, by many eminent divines of the reformation. Upon which he produceth a most noble testimony of Zwinglius to his purpose, out of

Answer to Animad. 14.

Answer to Animad. 15.

Answer to Animad. 16.

that reformer's commentaries *concerning the true and false religion;* and sheweth, that this acceptation of faith, according to the complex notion thereof, was so generally followed heretofore by our protestant divines, and so well known to all, as it gave occasion to Estius, in his controversies with us, to object, that most of our writers did make *faith and charity to be the same thing.* And then he maketh his reader see how the state of the question is, by the animadverter, quite mistaken concerning the perfection of the Mosaical law. Which law Mr. Bull denies to be a law of most perfect obedience, *in the same sense* as the Gospel is so. Where, by *a law of perfect obedience*, it is plain, that he meaneth nothing else, but such a law as requireth of man the most perfect and complete righteousness, as a necessary condition of salvation; according to which, it would be impossible for any one man to be saved. Whence there cannot be a greater absurdity, he says, than to suppose the rule of God's proceedings in the day of judgment, to be this *law of perfect obedience:* as nothing also is more unscriptural, than to suppose, that there is any *one* law which is to be the standard for *all*, in that day; seeing that every one, according to St. Paul, shall then be tried, according to the law and dispensation under which he lived. Now, he alloweth the law of Moses to have had a proper justification belonging to it; and hereupon confirmeth a former distinction of his concerning a justification in respect of this life, and that which is to come, or to the things of this mortal state, and of that which is eternal; or before God, and before the world; after the authority of St. Ambrose and St. Augustin. Yea, by many argu-

1675.

Answer to Animad. 17.

Answer to Animad. 18.

Answer to Animad. 19.

1675. ments, he proveth, that when St. Paul denies any man to be justified by the law of Moses, the true ground of his argumentation is, that under the law there is, strictly, no manner of true justification, or remission of sins, which reacheth beyond this life; that is, under the law, in that relation wherein it is considered by the apostle. This he proveth to be the very foundation on which St. Paul, in his Epistles, buildeth, and answers the arguments for the contrary opinion defended by his adversary. Moreover he defendeth his explication of this apostle's argument, drawn from the weakness of the law of Moses to deliver a man from the dominion of sin, by farther proofs of that matter, and answers to the exceptions and objections made against what was by him in his *Harmony* advanced. And whereas Mr. Bull was accused of Socinianism, for maintaining that the law of Moses, having not the promise of eternal life, was not so very fit to produce in man a fervent, constant, and indefatigable pursuit of virtue and piety; he at once fully clears himself from that charge, and proveth also, that the contrary opinion followed by his adversary, which makes life eternal to have been promised in the Old Testament, strictly taken as such, was heretofore condemned in Pelagius by the catholics; and that this was downright Pelagianism, in the opinion of St. Augustin, that great asserter of the grace of God, as it was so also esteemed by St. Jerom. Moreover, whereas he had asserted, that this law, strictly considered as such, containing only *temporal* promises and threatenings, was thereby apt to beget in men but low and earthly thoughts, he explains his opinion so as to remove all dangerous consequences from thence, and defendeth

Answer to Animad. 20.

Answer to Animad. 21.

Answer to Animad. 22.

it by the authority of St. Augustin, and even of St. Paul himself, in several most express passages to this purpose. And in the last place, he most evidently proveth, that the true and genuine sense of the Church of England, in her *eleventh Article*, was by him acknowledged in his *Harmony;* and that the sense which the animadverter affixeth to it, for being diametrically opposite to the exposition thereof by the church herself, as also to Scripture and right reason, ought to be rejected by every true son thereof. This is the substance of what he replied to Mr. Gataker, and which might serve for an answer, not only to him, but to two or three others besides, who had publicly animadverted on his book. 1675. Answer t Animad.:

XXX. Whether this Mr. Gataker did live to see Mr. Bull's answer to his animadversions, I am not able to learn [z]. Nor am I certain whether ever any thing was printed by him of his own, for the cause he appeared so zealous in, as an answer to Mr. Bull. I know, indeed, he published a certain *posthumous* piece of his father's, not long before, that was left by him imperfect on this very subject [a]; for which he is chastised [b] by Mr. Bull, as one who consulted not the reputation of a parent, who by his great Some farther observations of Mr. Gataker's management of this controversy.

[z] [Bull published his *Examen Censuræ* in 1675, Charles Gataker died in 1680.]

[a] [This was published in 1670, and entitled, *Antidote against Error, concerning Justification*, with *The Way of Truth and Peace, or a Reconciliation of the holy Apostles St. Paul and St. James concerning Justification*. The first was by Thomas Gataker, the second by his son Charles. The latter also wrote *Ichnographia, Doctrina de Justificatione secundum typum in Monte*, which was published in 1681.]

[b] Examen Censuræ Resp. ad Animad. 7. n. 8.

1675. critical knowledge and other learning had made himself more considerable, than to deserve that such-like crudities should be put forth under his name, at least by a son. It is true, Mr. Bull mentioneth a friendly conference between two considerable divines about the subject of justification, which he saw in manuscript; wherein the elder Gataker's scheme of this matter was very ingeniously delineated, and wrought with no small care and pains; but which yet, as to the main, proved not satisfactory to either of these learned men. And it is no less true, that another of Mr. Bull's adversaries doth expressly mention a printed discourse of this younger Gataker's, seen by him, [c] *Wherein he signifying his dislike of Mr. Bull's, propounds a third way to reconcile the apostles Paul and James.* But that he did only *signify his dislike of* Mr. Bull's way, without entering at all into the merits of the cause; and propose *another* way, without troubling himself much for an answer to the arguments brought for that which he professed *to dislike,* seemeth very probable; both because Mr. Bull, in his *Examen,* never takes the least notice of any such discourse; which he can hardly be supposed to have utterly forgotten or neglected, had there been found therein but any appearance of argument against the scheme that was by him so learnedly and fully defended against this very writer; since he is known to have condescended so far, by imposing even a penance both on his own and his reader's patience, as to examine minutely all that he could find urged against

[c] An Endeavour to rectify some prevailing Opinions, &c. London, 1671. Pref.

him, whether considerable or inconsiderable, even so as not to slip the most trifling objections and petty cavils of this eager controvertist, inasmuch as he designed it to be a thorough vindication of his *Harmony*, and would not have one objection whatsoever left by him unexamined and unconsidered: and also because the learned writer, who makes mention of this discourse of Mr. Charles Gataker, not only judges him mistaken in the interpretation of both the apostles, but owns, that Mr. Bull had said enough, in his *Harmonia Apostolica*, to make it appear, that he hath not given the right sense so much as of one of them. Now it appeareth, that Mr. Gataker published his discourse of Justification at the same time that Mr. Bull was writing against him, or a little before, that is, in or about the year 1670[d]; forasmuch as we find it mentioned the next year, by the aforesaid author, who gives his character of it, and acquaints us withal, that it came not forth till after he had finished his own reflections upon Mr. Bull's book. So that it must needs have been printed several months after the publication of the *Harmonia;* and yet at farthest in the beginning of the year 1671. And therefore, had there been any thing in it worthy his notice, it could, doubtless, never have escaped our author's most strict examination. 1675.

A reflection on Mr. Bull's management of it against him.

It must here be confessed, that Mr. Bull, as he was a *man*, and consequently subject to *human* passions, being so highly provoked by the undeserved treatment of him by Mr. Gataker, and the unfair methods which he made use of, doth now and then

[d] [It was published in 1670.]

1675. treat him again with more severity than I could have wished. This, the natural fire and vivacity of his temper, with the sense of the injustice done, not only to himself, but to the cause of truth and religion, seems to have prompted this good man to, and to have carried him a little too far, in my opinion, for the sake of a triumph over his adversary. For I cannot but think all controversies in matters of religion are then best handled, and with the greatest probability of success, when they are managed calmly without all particular resentments, and with all the tenderness that is possible towards those persons whom we are endeavouring to reclaim into the way of truth. And that, especially, nothing can be more unbecoming the character of divines, than for them who are to be the messengers of peace to wrangle one with another about the way; and in the mean time thereby to neglect the great things of their message, and such as accompany peace. But if, where the provocation was so excessive, as in this case, and the goodness of his cause so very clear, and so acknowledged by the best judges, the zeal of Mr. Bull might sometimes happen to transport him a little in the very conflict with his adversary, and cause him to go beyond the measures of a pacific writer; he was still careful to adhere most strictly to the truth, without partiality or respect of persons; and was ready to alter and expunge any thing in his writings, that through too much severity might be apt to give offence, and so to hinder the good effects of his labour of love for reconciling persons to the truth. This made him submit so freely all which he had thoughts of publishing to the censure of his learned friends, that

they might not only consider the argument, but soften also what they should see fit in the expression. And notwithstanding that the elder Gataker appeareth to have been no less against the opinion Mr. Bull defended than his son Charles, yet Mr. Bull treats him with abundance of respect, as often as he hath occasion to mention him; giveth the titles of [e] *doctissimus* and *pientissimus* to him; allows him to have been really a considerable person; and the scheme which he had formed of this matter, to be at least very ingenious; saying moreover, that he held his memory in honour, and would himself, were his son silent in it, proclaim his praise; and where he dissents from him, answers his arguments without any reflection. 1675.

An account of the eldest Gataker, and how Mr. Bull came to be engaged with him.

This Mr. Thomas Gataker, when he was young, began to preach upon the Epistle of St. James, in the reign of king James the First, this subject being about that time much agitated by some eminent divines of our church: and according to his [f] son's relation, seemeth to have preached it through, or to have given at least a *methodical* explication of the whole design thereof, and of the more considerable parts relating to his purpose. And a little before the breaking out of the civil wars, when most of the pulpits of London were hotly contesting and fighting about the grace of God, and the *method* of man's justification by it, he resumed his former task, being sincerely desirous of reconciling differences, and of

[e] Respons. ad Animad. 7. and 15.

[f] A. D. 1617. Aggressus in concionibus B. Jacobi Epistolam explicare, quod Dei ope methodo accuratissima peregit. *Animad.* 15. *ad Dissert.* 2. cap. 3.

1675. promoting peace and truth together; for which end, as he had before preached upon St. James, in like manner as Mr. Bull also began first with him, he now proceeded to preach upon St. Paul, and took also the very same text for his discourse which Mr. Bull pitched on for his second dissertation. About the year 1651, the good old man began to look over his loose papers upon this subject, and the fragments or heads of his sermons for harmonizing these two apostles, with a design of fitting for the press, the substance of what he had occasionally delivered from the pulpit. But he being now broken, and very old, was not able to finish what he undertook. And all his papers falling to his son, upon his death, which followed very quickly, these were by him, out of an over-fondness to all his father's performances, published with all their imperfections, to the no small disparagement both of his own, and his father's name, as before was hinted.

The occasion and motives of Mr. Truman's writing against the *Harmonia*.

XXXI. Not long after this, Mr. Joseph Truman, a man of a cooler head than the younger Gataker, and one also not unacquainted with the ancient Fathers, who had before written and published a short discourse concerning the apostle Paul's meaning, of *justification by faith without works*[s]; finding some of his opinions therein advanced, to be not only shaken by the *Harmonia Apostolica*, but to be in danger of being perfectly routed; and perceiving also that the sentiments contrary to his did very

[s] [He published in 1669, *The Great Propitiation, or Christ's Satisfaction and Man's Justification by it, with a discourse concerning St. Paul's meaning of Justification by Faith*; and in 1671, *A Discourse of natural and moral Impotency.*]

much daily prevail, by the reading of that treatise, 1675.
set himself to write an answer in English, to that part of it which chiefly concerned himself. Which answer was afterwards published by him, under the title of *An Endeavour to rectify some prevailing Opinions contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of England:* by the author of *The Great Propitiation* [h]. In the preface to which, the reader is made acquainted, "that about half a year after that "he had published some sermons, entitled *The* "*Great Propitiation*, whereto was added that short "discourse aforesaid, concerning *justification by* "*faith*, in the sense of St. Paul; there came forth "a learned book called *Harmonia Apostolica*, writ-"ten by Mr. George Bull, which quite crossing the "interpretation he had given of St. Paul, he was "occasioned by some occurrences, which it con-"cerned not the reader to know, to write the sub-"stance of those reflections upon it for some private "use." For he telleth us, they were written without any design of printing them, within three months after the coming forth of the said book; but were not published till about two years after, when he observed how fast *some opinions* got ground in the Church of England, contrary to his exposition thereof; which was attributed by him, in a great measure, to Mr. Bull, and more especially to the latter part of his performance.

For Mr. Truman could find nothing to object against the former part of it, nor even against several chapters of the latter; nay, he condemned Mr. Gataker for writing against him in this point, affirm- His censure, how different

[h] [Published in 1671.]

1675. ing, that he did not give the right interpretation either of St. James or St. Paul; and for the proof hereof, he referred his reader to his own discourse before-mentioned, and even to Mr. Bull also, whom he allowed to have written satisfactorily in many things, and to have sufficiently refuted his hypothesis for the reconciliation of these two apostles, however ingenious this might possibly appear at first view. Now, nothing could happen more honourable to Mr. Bull, than this testimony from an adversary in his favour, recommending his book to be read by all such as were willing to have a clear and full view of the controversy; yielding so great a part of it to contain a fair explication and vindication of the truth; and preferring his performance to that of one who appeared after him, not without several considerable advantages and assistances from the learned notes of an eminent divine, and celebrated critic, that for many years together had made this his particular study. Whether [i] *The Way to Truth and Peace*, which was published under the name of Mr. Charles Gataker, in order to a *reconciliation between St. Paul and St. James concerning justification*, were really his own or his father's, is not material to be known [k]: but it is certain that both Mr. Bull and Mr. Truman did agree in this, that it was already answered sufficiently before ever it did appear; and that neither *truth* nor *peace* could solidly be established by the *way* therein taken.

from that of Mr. Gataker, and how favourable to Mr. Bull.

How he agreed and disagreed with Mr. Bull.

These two go more than half way together, being perfectly agreed about faith, and not disagreeing in the exclusion of several sorts of *modern reconcilers:*

[i] London, 4to. 1670.

[k] [See p. 135.]

but they differ about the *law*, and the true extent of its notion; or they seem at least to differ more than perhaps they really do. For that which Mr. Bull calls *ipsissimum Evangelium*, or the *very Gospel*, is called by Mr. Truman the *Law*, in the most perfect sense of it. And hence, according to one, the Gospel may very truly be said to be *a law of most perfect obedience*; while, according to the other, the Mosaical law may as truly be said to be *such*; that is, with different respects and views. The one is very large in shewing the defects of the law, and how it both wanted an *external help* for encouragement of perfect obedience to it, being the promise of eternal life; and an *internal one*, being the gift of the Holy Ghost: and the other is no less so, in shewing the perfection of it, and how it wanted neither one help nor the other. And as Mr. Bull hath many strong arguments for the *disability* of the law, either to work true sanctification in man, or to lay hold on eternal life: so hath Mr. Truman many others for the *ability* of the same law, as taken in his sense, in order to attain these very ends. It is certain, that they had both of them different views; but it is not quite so certain that they both had always different *opinions*, when they expressed themselves after different *ways*. And of this it were easy to give instances, if it were here necessary. 1675.

How some concurred with him in the very offence taken, for whom Mr. Bull had otherwise an esteem.

But moreover, there were besides Mr. Truman, not a few others, and those both learned and pious, in Mr. Bull's own judgment, who were not able so perfectly to digest the seventh chapter of his second dissertation, which treateth of the twofold defect of the law of Moses, and maintaineth, that this law

1675. cannot absolutely and without any consideration be called a rule of *perfect obedience*. Some there were more violent than the rest, of whom he complaineth, that they made very tragical outcries against him, as if by such an hypothesis as this, "the whole system of orthodox divinity should be "shaken, yea, broken to pieces, and utterly de- "stroyed; and that the very foundations both of "Law and Gospel were hereby at once undermined "and overturned." As for them that were not so outrageous, but shewed themselves to be of a true Christian temper, and not far from the truth, our learned harmonist was ready and willing to give them all the satisfaction that was in his power; professing at the same time that he did not insist on this matter as necessary for the reconciliation of St. James with St. Paul; but that he did submit it to better judgments, having only made the proposal for the sake of truth and peace, with a desire that it might be freely and impartially considered. Indeed, as he proposed his opinion to the learned, not to the vulgar, by writing in a language which none but the learned understood; so he expected, that they who should undertake to answer his arguments, would follow also his method therein, and not trouble the heads of the weak and the unlearned with *doubtful disputations*, and matters above their reach to judge of with any exactness, by appealing to them in their own native language; and this when the controversy was at first otherwise laid, and brought up from the pulpit, and consequently from the common people, to be debated and decided by the learned. Therefore he was not at all pleased that Mr. Truman should bring it down again.

Indeed, it would seem very absurd for any one to answer a Latin treatise in English; and especially if it were purposely written in Latin, that it might not fall promiscuously into the hands of the common English readers, for fear of disturbing their brains with certain arguments not suited to their capacity; as plainly was the case of Mr. Bull. But then, on the other side, it must be owned, that Mr. Truman had published, the very same year in which Mr. Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica* appeared, and some months too before it, his treatise of the [1] *Great Propitiation*, which had been well received by some learned men of the Church of England, and particularly by that great and zealous assertor of primitive antiquity, bishop Gunning, who for the sake thereof desired to be acquainted with the author, though a dissenter. So that he was really the first of the two in this controversy, wherein they were both engaged unknown to each other. And besides this, as the said *Harmonia Apostolica* was the first-born of Mr. Bull's productions, so was likewise *The Great Propitiation* of Mr. Truman's, and both alike favoured by them as such. In the treatise of the former, which was last printed, we have the sum of what he preached at several times, set forth for the use of the learned, together with a very learned vindication thereof, from Scripture, reason, and antiquity, in a language and style proper only to them: but in the treatise of the latter, which was first printed, there is contained the substance of several sermons preached upon that great article of our religion, and made public in the same language in which they were

1675.

How he came to write against Mr. Bull in English rather than in Latin.

[1] London, 1669.

1675. preached, for the use of the unlearned as well as the learned: whence having first published his opinion in English, both from the pulpit and the press, Mr. Truman thought he had a right to vindicate it in the same language, notwithstanding that the strongest arguments against it were delivered in a Latin treatise, to which therefore a Latin answer was not without reason expected. And farther, considering that this matter had been first debated by the most learned and pious Dr. Hammond, in English also, whom Mr. Bull is supposed by this author to follow; he concluded to write on in the vulgar tongue rather than in the learned.

Besides these two, he seemeth to have had a third motive both for writing against Mr. Bull, and for his writing against him in English rather than Latin; which was, that by exposing certain doctrines and opinions, *as contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England*, which were by the most eminent divines thereof maintained at that time, and by Mr. Bull then defended with great learning and force in his said book, he might under the pretext of *rectifying* them, and of *composing many differences in opinion*, to use his own words, add some weight to his reasons for separation, from the maintainers of them, and from the society whereof they were members. For it looks as if it were his design to shew hereby, that he was no such separatist from the Church of England, whose *doctrines* he would appear as heartily to embrace, as some who lived in her bosom; and that many abiding in her *ministerial communion* were yet greater *nonconformists* than ever he was; while professing themselves to be divines of the Church of England, they nevertheless

departed, as he thought, from the very principles on which the Reformation was founded. It was his misfortune, upon the *Act of Uniformity*, not to be thoroughly satisfied in all that was required of him for his continuance in the exercise of his ministry; and he was jealous of some advances made towards Socinianism, as well as carrying too high a controversy about things in their nature *indifferent*. But he endeavoured still to keep a fair correspondence with the Church of England, to speak of her with esteem, to make honourable mention of her bishops, to express himself as one of her members, and actually to defend *lay-communion* with her. And therefore he would not be thought to have written against her by such an essay as this; which was very probably intended by him for his own justification: and to insinuate that there might be more danger to be apprehended by the *Church of England* from a nonconformity to her *doctrines*, than from one to her *discipline*. These I take to be the chief motives of his undertaking to write against Mr. Bull and others, and of making this his public appeal, not in Latin, as Mr. Bull had done, but in English, as properly concerning the English Church. I must now give some account of what he hath performed in this enterprise, so far as our author is concerned with him; without which the history of this controversy, and consequently of the works of so great a man of our church, would remain but very imperfect. To proceed then, 1675.

XXXII. Mr. Truman having published about the beginning of the year 1669 his *Great Propitiation* aforesaid, wherein the article of justification was ne- An account of the several treatises published by

1675. cessarily treated of, for a fuller illustration of the same he added an Appendix to it, concerning the meaning of the apostle Paul, in treating this subject; in which he will have the apostle to dispute against justification by *perfect obedience to the law*, as a thing impossible to a man in this life; and our Lord not to have added any thing new to the law in his sermon on the mount, but only to have vindicated it from corrupt interpretations. For without considering at all the infirmity of the law, as being referred to by the apostle, he insisted that not only an outward obedience to it was required of God, but also that which was inward and perfect; and that therefore a man was bound by it to live perfectly, and free from all manner of sin, both outwardly and inwardly, looking beyond temporal promises and threats to those that are eternal. And besides this, he seemed to maintain that a man might be obliged to do somewhat, which it was not in his power to do; and might also be justly punished for not doing it, where the disability or impotence was not *natural*, but proceeded *originally* from his own fault.

him against the doctrine and method of Mr. Bull.

Now when after this another scheme for the interpretation of St. Paul was brought forth by Mr. Bull, which he found to contradict his in some material points, or at least not to be easily reconcileable with it, he set himself hereupon to defend his own scheme, as the only orthodox one, thinking that Mr. Bull would make *an intolerable change in the very substance of the body of divinity*. And in this view he published not very long afterward [m], *A Discourse of natural and moral Impotency*, upon the principles

[m] [In 1671.]

laid down in his former discourse; in which some chapters of Mr. Bull's second dissertation are indirectly attacked. For he looked upon this distinction to be of such importance in divinity, as that they who should speak or write of the controversies about justification, grace, free-will, the law of works, faith, evangelical perfection, and such like, without keeping clear notions about this, would certainly speak and write like children concerning them, though otherwise never so capable and learned: as also that a person but of ordinary understanding, by keeping to this distinction, might competently satisfy himself and others (if willing to be satisfied) in such controversies as have posed the greatest wits and scholars that deviate from it. This he hath treated at large with great metaphysical subtlety for the learned, and with sufficient plainness in the practical inferences for the use of the unlearned. Notwithstanding which, whatever he might pretend, he appeared to several *to teach here a new divinity*, and to deliver strange opinions and doctrines very *remote from the common sentiments of men*, according as he himself was indeed sensible of beforehand. Wherefore he prudently abstaineth from mentioning of names, that none might hereby be provoked against him, as he was not without reason apprehensive of. And without telling his own name, that he might not either expose himself, or do any prejudice thereby to a cause he was so fond of; he cared not to let the world know any more of him, than that he *lived obscurely*, and was the author of such a book, as had not been ill received by the public. 1675.

There are two editions of this discourse, which because they afford an occasion to Mr. Bull of giving

1675. us his more mature and accurate thoughts upon so nice a subject, will deserve not to be forgotten: the one was taken care of by himself, but the other by a friend after his decease, with some additions left by the author under his own hand; and particularly an Appendix for farther clearing up and vindicating the same discourse, in which he declareth his opinion concerning the *propagation of the soul and sin*. This second edition had his name put to it, and his quality. The principles upon which he here goeth are these: 1. No man is bound by any law of God or man, farther than his natural faculties and powers reach. 2. A man is bound by the law of God, so far as these natural powers do reach, and his greatest aversation of will to obey the same will not excuse him, but rather add to his inexcusableness. 3. Such an aversation of will in man doth certainly hinder his compliance with God's commandments, till God takes it away; or till by some *supereffluence of grace*, which he is not in justice bound to afford, he overcometh this reluctance of the will. Whence this author inferreth, and laboureth to prove, 1. That a man's culpable impotency lieth only in a disability to do what he hath a power to do; or in his not being able to do in *one* sense, what he can do in *another*. And, 2. That the effect of divine grace consisteth not barely in a man's receiving from God a power to obey his commands; but in something over and beside, to cause a man to do what he is bound to do, and would be to blame for not doing. These principles and inferences were afterwards examined by Mr. Bull, both in Latin and English, on occasion of his last treatise, which came out soon after to back this, and is directly levelled against our

author, out of whose *Harmonia Apostolica* he hath translated several leaves together, and almost whole chapters, thinking to overthrow his hypothesis by some arguments which he hath brought against it, and to establish his own. And in this last book, wherein he expresseth so much his concern for the doctrine of the Church of England, and his zeal to correct the opinions of some learned men in her communion contrary to it; he frequently referreth to the aforesaid discourse, wherein he had laid down these principles, and drawn several corollaries from them to his purpose. And of this as particular an account as is needful, for the perfect understanding the history of the works of so great a bishop in our church, and of so eminent a defender of the catholic faith, will not surely be altogether unacceptable; since it must needs contribute more than a little to the right stating of certain questions, which the generality of people are ordinarily for considering but on one side only; and to the giving a fair prospect of the arguments on both sides, without passion or prejudice, that upon summing up of the whole, it may be more easy for any one to judge on which side the advantage doth lie. 1675.

An account of the design and method of his last treatise.

Now therefore he saith that the learned author's design is very commendable, that his whole first dissertation concerning the sense of the apostle James, in affirming justification by works as a condition, is acute, solid, and cogent: and not only this, but that so also is all generally in his second dissertation to the fifth chapter, and part of it. And he is entirely one with him, so long as he explaineth or defendeth the meaning of St. James, or discovereth the weakness and falsehood of the attempts of many writers,

1675. designing to reconcile the seemingly contrary expressions of this apostle with those of St. Paul: yea, he thinketh what is written by our author hereupon is highly worth the reading of any that have other apprehensions of the meaning of St. James, or that are not satisfied that the apostle Paul by *faith* meaneth the whole necessary duty of a Christian. Moreover he granteth and lamenteth, that many important doctrines of the *reformed churches* are frequently by too many grossly explained, so as to have ill consequences flowing from them; which, if rightly understood, would be found not to patronize but to disown such consequences. And particularly in the protestant doctrine of justification by *faith*, according to St. Paul, he granteth Mr. Bull to have rightly interpreted what this apostle meaneth by *faith*, and consequently to have rightly explained the doctrine of the *reformed churches* therein, while he proveth that we are to understand, *not one single virtue by* faith, *but the whole Gospel-condition, the whole duty required for salvation, as the obedience of* faith. So that the whole controversy of Mr. Truman with him is only about that part of the second dissertation which undertaketh to prove what St. Paul meant by *works of the law.* And Mr. Bull is charged with following herein the opinion of Dr. Hammond, as it is laid down in his *Practical Catechism*, very fully.

Principal mistakes charged upon Mr. Bull, p. 4. and Pref. p. 2.

Now the first great mistakes as he will have them, the πρῶτα ψεύδη, in that part of Mr. Bull's book, which he esteemeth the occasion of all his other mistakes, in relation to the apostle Paul's sense in denying justification by works, and indeed of the mistakes also of many other learned authors, (as Episcopius, bishop Taylor, &c.) being much of his judgment in

the particulars here disputed of; are made to be these: viz. 1. His concluding that there is no law which proposeth future rewards and punishments, but the Gospel or law of grace. 2. His not considering the difference between an *original* law and a *remedying* law, or conditional act of oblivion distinct from that first law. 3. His not understanding the difference between *natural* and *moral* impotence. 4. His notions of the law of Moses, as having only temporal promises and threats annexed to it, and being void of spiritual and internal commands. These he supposeth to be the fundamental mistakes of Mr. Bull, and other learned divines in the Church of England, which he endeavoureth to confute to the utmost of his power, and must be acknowledged to have said some things hereupon that seem not inconsiderable.

1675. Page 4. Page 14. Page 19. Page 22.

XXXIII. For because he knew not of any that had spoken exactly and satisfactorily of the law, in the several notions and acceptations of it, nor in all things rightly, at least not comprehensively enough in his opinion; he thought it necessary to write somewhat largely and distinctly concerning it; in order to destroy both Mr. Bull's hypothesis, and likewise to lay a foundation for the right understanding not only of the passages of the apostle in debate, but of other passages also of the New Testament, respecting the law; and particularly of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where *law*, he thinks, is to be taken in a different sense from that wherein it is in the places now in dispute. His thoughts upon the matter, in short, are these: that the law of Moses may be considered either as to *temporal* respects only, or as to the con-

The principles of Mr. Truman, opposite to these.

1675. cerns of the *life to come*, and that under both these respects it ought to be again considered, either as the *original* law itself, or as the *remedying* law to it. And accordingly he hath four several notions
Page 24. and interpretations of the law. First, he considereth it in the external political sense, wherein it had only, as *temporal* punishments for offences, so only *temporal* promises of peace, prosperity, and long life in the land of Canaan, upon obedience to the law; and also had *in this sense* no spiritual or internal precepts. However, he maintaineth the law in this strict temporal sense to be a shadow both of future punishments to every transgression internal and external, and of future heavenly felicity to perfect obedience. Secondly, he considereth the same law, as comprehending in it a *remedying* law as to these temporal severities, or as affording pardon upon sacrifice, for the greatest number of transgressions. And so he will have it, that this political and temporal law was a sort of *little Gospel* in reality; being *a law of pardon*, as to the temporal punishment that was therein threatened; and a shadow also, or pattern and representation of its own gospel-favour in admitting the transgressors thereof to grace and pardon, with regard to *eternal* punishment, on the account of the great satisfaction to come, that was typified by such sacrifices. Thirdly, he considereth it as a law of *conscience*, essentially respecting the future state, and requiring obedience to all therein commanded, under the peril of future death or wrath to come; for that otherwise there would be no pardon or satisfaction by Christ, for the wrath to come, which by this law is due to sin. And in this strict sense he will have St. Paul to use the word *law* in the most of

those places in dispute, and which are insisted on by Mr. Bull to reconcile them to St. James. And in this sense he saith the law was no type or shadow, nor to vanish away, but that it standeth in force to this very day. Lastly, he considereth it as a law of *grace*, revealing that the punishment made due to the transgressor, by the law in its first and strict sense, might yet be pardoned; and he should enjoy, notwithstanding this, the promised life to come, on condition he did repent, and sincerely endeavour obedience for the future to all God's laws, with the whole bent of heart and soul. And in this sense he saith the law was no type or shadow at all, but the very Gospel itself, and that *word of faith*, which the apostles preached: and that in this very sense also David took the law in most of his encomiums of it. Whence he concludeth, that justification and salvation are not denied to it, or to the *works* of it, by the apostle, either to Jews or Christians; forasmuch as it still continueth the same for substance, having the same sanction and condition, or precept in general; namely, that upon our repentance and sincere obedience, God will justify and save us from all our sins. And accordingly, 1675. Page 35.

He interpreteth both the threatenings and promises of the law, as having four different significations. Thus concerning that solemn malediction, *Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things written in the book of the law, to do them*, he saith it did notify these four distinct sanctions, with their distinct conditions: viz. 1. Every one shall be punished with a *violent temporal* death, or such death shall be due to him, that observeth not every *external* precept of the law. 2. His interpretation of the threats and promises of the Old Testament with a fourfold respect.

1675. Every one shall be punished with the aforesaid death without remedy, that offendeth either in the *great* instances exempted from pardon, or in other *lesser* faults, not observing the sacrifices appointed for the expiation of these. 3. *Future* death, or wrath to come, is due to every one that obeyeth not every commandment both *internal* and *external*. And 4. This future or second death shall without remedy befal every such offender against the law, he not *repenting* of his sins, and sincerely endeavouring obedience to every precept thereof, *internal* and *external*. And to the like extensive import he will have also the promise or blessing annexed to the law, to be interpreted. Now he supposeth the not understanding this fourfold distinction of the Mosaical covenant, and of its cursings and blessings, or threats and promises, to have led Mr. Bull into some mistakes, in determining what St. Paul meaneth by works and by the law; and consequently in his denying justification by the works of the law.

His opinion of the *Horeb covenant*, and that made in the land of Moab. *Har. Apost.* cap. xi.

And whereas Mr. Bull is very particular and full in distinguishing between the *Horeb covenant* recorded in the 20th, 21st, 22d, and 23d chapters of Exodus, and the covenant made in the land of Moab, recorded in the 29th and 30th chapters of Deuteronomy; as having quite different promises and precepts, the one carnal and earthly, the other spiritual and heavenly: Mr. Truman on the other side maintaineth, that they are not two but one and the same covenant, by many arguments which he bringeth from history, and the reason of fact. And whereas Mr. Bull also, after Episcopius, Dr. Hammond, bishop Taylor, and others of great name, doth assert the promises and threats of the Mosaic law to be only

Endeavours to rectify, p. 53.

and properly temporal; his adversary hath inserted a pretty large dissertation concerning the spirituality of this law, and the sanction thereof, even by rewards and punishments in another life, which containeth some observations not to be despised. 1675. P. 119. to 202.

He granteth the law of Moses to have no spiritual commands, threats, or promises, as it was the *instrument of the Jewish polity*, but judgeth it cannot be so meant in those passages of St. Paul in debate, to be reconciled to St. James, according to the principles he had before laid down and explained. He bringeth a great number of passages out of the Psalms, several of them being cited and referred to in the New Testament, with a design to shew that it is notoriously contrary to the expressions of David concerning the Judaical law, to deny that it had spiritual commands together with promises and threats, relating to the world to come. He confirmeth this by the encomiums of the law given by St. Paul himself, calling it *spiritual* and himself *carnal*, expressing his delight therein *after the inward man*, and declaring it to be *holy, just, and good*. He urgeth, that if the promises and threatenings of the law as such were only carnal and temporal, then none would have been bound to true piety by that law: but on the contrary, the Jews would have done well in suffering themselves to be bound to the earth by the profits and delights thereof; and in alienating their minds from true piety, by yielding to such an earthly and sordid temper, as such a law was apt in its own nature to beget. He insisteth that God would never have been angry with the Jews for not being wrought upon to real piety by the law, if that was so very defective. He saith

His sentiments concerning the nature of the Mosaic law.

1675. farther, if by that law no future misery beyond this life was announced against the transgressor, there would have been no man bound to suffer it; yea, that Christ could not suffer any thing by way of satisfaction as to the curse of the life to come; nor any one be pardoned his transgression, as to punishment after this life, if no such punishment was ever threatened by it. He argueth that these threats and promises concerning a future life must have been so plain in the law, as people with the use of ordinary means might understand them. He asserteth, without this were so, they had been excusable before God, and would not have been condemned for not being truly pious. He maintaineth that this was the current opinion of the Jews, and that they did ordinarily believe that the law *promised* future life, and *threatened* future misery. For the truth of which he appealeth to all the old Jewish writers extant, and particularly to the Talmud; wherein among three sorts of men that are named to have no portion in the world to come, these are esteemed one who shall say, *The resurrection of the dead is not taught by the law:* and to the ancient Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, in both of which there is express mention of *eternal life*. Moreover he urgeth, that the error of the Sadducees in denying a future life was occasioned by their not understanding the Scriptures, thereby meaning the Old Testament, and more especially the books of Moses, or the Pentateuch; which could not be said, if the Scriptures revealed no such thing, as happiness to the obedient, and unhappiness to the disobedient in a future state. Yea, he confirmeth this by the very argument of our Lord himself; and by his command to *search the*

Scriptures, when there were none besides those of the Old Testament, with a view of finding by them eternal life: as likewise by the solemn appeal of St. Paul expressing his faith of *another* life, both for the godly and the wicked, according to what he found *written in the law* as well as *in the prophets*. And here he offereth several arguments both from the Old and the New Testament, to shew that the Jews had *promises* in their law of a future blessedness, if they were found obedient to it: also that they had clearer promises of a future state, than the Gentiles by the law of nature could have: and that all that they had more of this hope of immortality, was to be ascribed wholly to the covenant of promise, revealed in the Old Testament, and particularly in the book of the law itself. This he saith likewise was the perfect law of grace converting the soul, and giving life to men converted; by which Moses, Samuel, and David, being under it, were justified and saved. 1675.

His commendation of Mr. Bull, and agreement with him in some material points.

He commendeth Mr. Bull for so interpreting St. Paul, as to shew that Abraham had no cause to boast before God of any thing in the matter of his justification: and that the reward imputed to him could not be *of debt*, as it useth to be given to *works*, but of *mere grace*. Nor hath he so much as one word to say against his exposition of the doctrine of the Church of England in her *eleventh Article*; but fully agreeth with him, that by the words of the Article there is not attributed any efficacy or dignity to faith, more than to other virtues, in the business of justification. Our excellent author hath taken no small pains in the *second part* of his *Harmony* to shelter himself from the charge of heterodoxy, and to prove in particular the judgment of the Church of

Page 216.

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1675. England, even in that very article that establisheth justification by faith only, not to be against him but to make for him: and his adversary here confesseth as much; and saith expressly, *I dislike not this at all.* And indeed there are so many things in Mr. Bull which he disliketh not, that I know not whether I ought to call him his adversary or his friend.

His dissatisfaction both with Dr. Hammond and Mr. Bull about their notions of grace.

XXXIV. And whereas he declareth himself not at all satisfied with what our author hath said of the necessity of *grace*, and of man's disability to do any good without the assistance of the Holy Spirit, because he telleth us not explicitly enough what he meaneth by this grace, and what the effect of it is; yet he falleth most foul upon Dr. Hammond, supposing Mr. Bull to have the same common notions with him about it. So that he maketh here but an indirect attack against Mr. Bull's book, complaining that his notions about this matter did lie more remote from vulgar apprehensions than Dr. Hammond's; Mr. Bull speaking but little *ex professo*, to declare what he meant by grace, so that he was not easily or presently understood. He chargeth however both him and the doctor with a low and mean opinion concerning *grace*, which, if *practically held*, would be destructive to all piety, and in particular to the very constitution and offices of the Church of England. For he is so charitable as to grant, that men *may hold errors destructive of religion*, notionally and *doctrinally, and yet hold the contrary truth* practically. And this he freely alloweth to be the case here. Now his own opinion is, "that grace, "whether actively taken for God's act, or passively "for the effect of this act, doth not consist merely

" in God's causing or man's receiving such a power, 1675.
" as without which they that enjoy the Gospel can-
" not be inexcusable in not obeying it, or cannot sin
" *culpably*; this being a power that is given univer-
" sally to all that hear and enjoy the Gospel: but in
" God's giving and in man's receiving something
" from God, which may overcome the aversation,
" that is in man to good, and thence cause him to
" refuse the evil and choose the good, in obedience
" to the Gospel; without which yet men would not
" be wholly excusable from such obedience." For he maintaineth that the power, without which men would be excusable, being properly in God an effect of *justice*, is not to be accounted by us an effect of *supernatural grace*, yea not of grace or favour at all. Since it is no kindness or favour, but justice, not to condemn a man for not doing what he hath not the power to do. And if God *require* men, saith he, *it is necessary in* JUSTICE, *that he give them so much ability to choose the good and refuse the evil, as may make them inexcusable in not doing it.* The opinion now which he chargeth upon Dr. Hammond and Mr. Bull, as contrary both to the doctrine and practice of the Church of England, is their holding that the effect of grace is, *the giving that internal power or ability, that men could not be inexcusable without, in not obeying the Gospel: or, that God's working in us to will and to do, is but giving us power to will and do.* And he saith that no man can even *in the words of the Common Prayer*, seriously pray or praise God, for the conversion and sanctification of himself or others, adhering to such an opinion; by which the grace of God is degraded, according to him, to *the very power* Page 244.

1675. *or faculty of free-will, in actu secundo.* This he believeth himself to have irrefragably shewn in his former discourse of *natural and moral impotency*; and for its contradicting the declared practice of our church, he adviseth any that shall but doubt thereof, to take the said Book of Common Prayer, and therein read such prayers, and to see if they can think the meaning of such prayers to be, that God would give them and others that power to obey without which he could not condemn them for not obeying, (as is apparent of that power without which men would be excusable,) and consequently a power which whether they pray or pray not for, God is by himself bound in justice to give them.

This is indeed a most heavy charge against Mr. Bull, if it could clearly be proved: but he deduceth it only *consequentially* from his discourse, and it reflecteth not only upon him and Dr. Hammond, but upon as many as go the common remonstrant way, or that maintain the universality of grace. It is vain to protest never so much that the Holy Spirit giveth us the power, which all the good we do is imputable to; or to declare in this case, "That the "grace of God in lapsed man is the [n] *one sole prin-* "*ciple of spiritual life, conversion, regeneration,* "*repentance, faith, and every other evangelical* "*virtue*; and that all that can be justly attributed "to our will in any of these, is the obeying the mo- "tions, and making use of the powers which are be- "stowed upon us by that supernatural principle." For if the obeying the *motions*, and making use of the *powers*, which God bestoweth upon men, may

[n] Dr. Hammond's Pacific Discourse, Lond. 1660. p. 52. §. 75. &c. Bull, Harm. Apost.

justly be attributed to our will, and not to a special operation besides of the Spirit; God only giving us the power, and wholly leaving it to us to make use of it, without doing any more by his Spirit to *cause* us to make use of it; Mr. Truman here argueth that all these high words are but an empty sound, and that it would be absurd for any one hereupon to pray to God, that he would graciously cause him by his Spirit to improve his talent, and make use of the power committed to him, if God do no more than merely give the talent or power, which he doth unto all: and if this be the meaning, as he supposeth it to be of Mr. Bull, and all the remonstrant divines, God's grace and kindness towards men is not at all exalted by any such expressions; and a man is no more obliged to special thankfulness and gratitude for the work of his conversion, than if it were said, God by his supernatural grace made us *men*, that is, endued us with *understanding* and *will*. And he saith it is all one, whether one call this power the *remote* and fundamental, or the *proximate* power of free-will, while there is meant by it only that power without which they that enjoy the privileges of the Gospel have no sin. For if this be the import of all these great words concerning grace, and supernatural grace, given to all that enjoy the Gospel of Christ, that it giveth them only this *proximate* power, by which the will being emancipated is at liberty to obey the Gospel, God going no farther by his Spirit with any in order to their conversion; and that this power, call it what you will, doth *all* in conversion, and in causing the difference; and that therefore *all* the good is done by supernatural grace only, and *nothing* is properly imputable to man in the whole 1675.

1675. work of his conversion: the learned *rectifier* contendeth, that all this is really nothing; that it manifestly tendeth to confound *supernatural grace* and *common providence* together: and to argue thus is no less illogical, than to say, *Man doth all in improving the Gospel to his own conversion: therefore God doth all.* To conclude, he highly commendeth that sober sentiment of the great bishop Sanderson, who confessing his own disability to reconcile the consistency of grace and free-will in conversion, and being sensible that they must both be maintained, tells us, "[o] He ever held and still doth "hold it the more pious and safe way to place the "grace of God in the throne, where we think it "should stand, and so to leave the will of man to "shift for the maintenance of its own freedom, as "well as it can; than to establish the power and "liberty of free-will at its height, and then to be at "a loss how to maintain the power and efficacy of "God's grace."

Some other objections raised against Mr. Bull.

Besides these, there are some few other objections which he made against Mr. Bull's book, as particularly, that though he gave indeed the true sense of many verses in the fourth chapter to the Romans, yet he feigneth the apostle to bring them in too desultorily; that he is mistaken in stating the case of Abraham from St. Paul, making that to be *before*, which was really *after* the divine calling, and his believing; that upon his principles men might after their conversion live perfectly, and do as much as they are required to do by the word of God; and that his inference from the defended and received

[o] See Dr. Hammond's Letter to Dr. Sanderson, concerning God's Grace, &c. §. 90, 91.

opinions amongst the Jews, about the nature of obedience to their law, is not well supported. And whereas Mr. Bull hath spent a whole chapter in citing out of some authors certain sayings of the Jews, in defence of the power of free-will, without the assisting grace of the Spirit, he will have it that many of them may be capable of no ill construction: and that they possibly mean no more than that men have the natural power of free-will, without which they cannot be men, from God's common providence; and not that the will is not in a moral sense insuperably wicked without grace. 1675.

Some of Mr. Truman's concessions.

As to what Mr. Bull had written concerning the ritual and *ceremonial law*, and the works thereof, as circumcision, sacrifices, and the like; or concerning the *Jewish interpretations* of the whole body of the Mosaic law, containing under it the moral law; or concerning human inventions and additions to it, and the several erroneous opinions of many of the learned Jews in respect to it; or concerning the most pernicious solifidianism of the Gnostic heretics; or, lastly, concerning the several contrary errors and mistakes of some Christian sects, which are with great judgment considered by him in his *Epilogue*; Mr. Truman, with all his metaphysical subtlety, could find nothing herein to condemn: yea, he expressly commendeth him for having shewn out of the Jewish writers, that it was a vulgar error among them, to imagine that they perfectly fulfilled God's law, and did all that was required by it, though they did but some few externals only; as thinking that those commandments which require the obedience of the heart or internal righteousness and holiness, were only matter of *counsel*, and not strictly of precept;

1675. and instead of bringing up their lives to the law, maintaining such opinions as brought the law down to their lives.

The result of the whole matter.

Upon the whole, he thinketh it improbable that every chapter of both dissertations of Mr. Bull should be revised and approved by so able a divine as Dr. Nicholson, bishop of Gloucester: and suspecteth, that he had great temptations to pretend his approbation of the whole and every part of it, to gain repute to his opinion, *by the great name of so reverend a prelate and so learned a writer*. And concluding, that he had said enough to shew the danger and inconsistency of some prevailing opinions concerning the nature of grace and the Mosaic dispensation; he insinuateth nevertheless, that he might probably write more hereupon, if urged to it; and did accordingly begin soon after a treatise upon the *covenant of grace*, which he lived not to finish: for saith he, *My great aversation to such principles* (common to Dr. Hammond and Mr. Bull) *will much incline me upon an easy call to oppose the prevalency of them; till I shall see some fitter man of* our own church and language, where they prevail, (*as I doubt not but that there are many, whose abilities and circumstances make them far more fit,*) *willing to undertake it, and save the labour of my weak endeavours.* From which it appeareth, that Mr. Truman was very far from the sentiments of the rigid dissenters; and that he did not totally leave our church upon the *Act of Uniformity*; but did consider himself still as a Church of England man, some lesser matters only excepted.

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XXXV. Mr. Bull, not long after, wrote an answer

in English to Mr. Truman, which yet was never published [p], wherein we are told his hypothesis was fully examined, and all his objections replied to; not without the consentient testimony of all the catholic doctors of the church, both before and after the rise of Pelagius, and of the ancient Jewish rabbins. For out of a fear that offence might be given to the common people, by handling certain abstruse and profound questions, to the treating yet of which he was necessitated by the exceeding great subtleties of this writer; he was willing that what he had thus written should not come abroad, but only be communicated to a few friends, whose testimony he appealed to herein. In this answer to Mr. Truman he set himself to overturn his fundamental distinction of *natural* and *moral impotence*, and to shew the many absurd consequences flowing from such a position, and how that at the bottom it was neither more nor less than downright Pelagianism. In it he endeavoured to prove, that the *law of nature*, as considered in itself, or the *moral law*, prescribeth not a most perfect and absolute righteousness, but is contented with that which is much inferior to that which is required by the Gospel: and moreover, that eternal life was not due at all to the observation of that law. Also he maintaineth, that man, even in the state of innocence, had not a *natural power* or ability of obtaining by the perfect obedience of the law an heavenly immortality; and that besides the perfection and integrity of nature wherein he was made, he was likewise endowed with the divine Spirit, as with a principle of the *divine nature*; by which his natural faculties, otherwise insufficient,

1675.

Mr. Bull answereth him in English.

[p] Appendix ad Exam. Cen. Animad. 17. §. 6.

1675. were improved and exalted to the attainment of the *superior paradise*, whereof the *inferior* was a type. This he saith is abundantly made out in his English papers against Mr. Truman, though not in a style so very fit for vulgar readers: and having represented the strangeness and inconsistency of his hypothesis, which he saith was borrowed from Amyraldus [q], he sheweth how from one absurdity a multitude of other absurdities cannot but flow; how upon his principles it is possible for every man, if he hath but his natural faculties sound, perfectly to fulfil the law of God, when sufficiently made known to him, without the assistance of any inward grace; how it is naturally possible, but at the same time morally impossible: how God may lawfully require of fallen man most perfect obedience, without either giving him or being ready to give him any grace, by which that obedience may be wrought; how the law of nature to those that shall keep it, can give life everlasting; how the evangelical law doth not convey together with it grace and power, to perform the obedience which it requireth; and that this grace is only given according to the good pleasure of God, to some few thereunto ordained; but that all the rest are justly damned, because they might have lived well if they *would*, but that they had not power to *will* it. This by those hints which he himself hath given of it, seemeth to have been the substance of what was written by him in English on occasion of Mr. Truman's two mentioned books, his *Discourse of natu-*

[q] [Moyse Amyrault, a Calvinist, of Saumur in the seventeenth century: he published several works upon grace, and a paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans.]

ral and moral Impotency, and his *Endeavours to rectify some prevailing Opinions.* 1675.

But Mr. Bull being engaged, as he thought, to vindicate himself against Mr. Charles Gataker's Animadversions upon his *Harmony*, thought it also convenient to answer Mr. Truman in Latin; as to the principal objections made against him, Dr. Hammond, and bishop Taylor, thereby to render his reply more full and complete. And this he hath done, both in his Appendix to the Examination of the 17th Animadversion, and in his answers to the 19th, 21st, and 22d Animadversions of Gataker, relating to the twofold defect of the Mosaic dispensation. Where he learnedly and strenuously defendeth what he had advanced in his former book, concerning the grounds of the impossibility of justification by the law, for which he is so severely handled by Gataker, Truman, and others; and laboureth to prove that the opinion of his adversaries therein is strictly and properly Pelagian; and that his only is the true catholic doctrine, supported by the authority of St. Augustin and other orthodox Fathers. But not contented with that, answers him also in Latin.

He is very large in discussing the question, whether there was any law or covenant, distinct from the Gospel, requiring perfect righteousness of fallen man, with the promise of eternal life if he did perform it, and under the penalty of eternal damnation if he did not. And having explained the state of the question, he proceedeth, and defendeth the true catholic opinion thereupon in the following theses. 1. The covenant of life made with Adam in his state of innocence, was by his transgression of the same, made void, not only for himself, but for his posterity also; so that now all the children of Adam, The substance of his answer.

1675. as such, are the *children of death*, that is, are excluded wholly from all promise of immortal life, and are subjected to the necessity of *death*, without any hopes of a resurrection. 2. All those of the posterity of fallen Adam, who are altogether destitute of divine revelation, and to whom the new covenant of life hath not yet been manifest, are under the obligation of no law but that of nature. 3. The law of nature, (which is the dictate of reason,) so far as it is considered in fallen man, as destitute of the Spirit, and of divine revelation, doth not prescribe the most perfect and absolute virtue, nor is an immortal and heavenly life due to the observation of this law. 4. God never entered into any covenant of eternal life with the posterity of fallen Adam, but what was confirmed and established in our Saviour Christ; and must consequently have been the very *Gospel* itself, according to that of the apostle, *The gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.* 5. The *Gospel*, or *the law of Christ*, though it prescribe a religion that is most excellent and perfect, especially as it is most fully revealed in the books of the New Testament, doth not command any thing to man in his fallen state, but that which is possible to be fulfilled by the *grace* which it promiseth. 6. Though according to the Gospel, or law of Christ, all those degrees of righteousness, which are possible for us by the grace of the same Gospel to be performed, are binding to us; yet they are not all binding *strictly* and *precisely* under the penalty of *everlasting damnation*. Forasmuch as the *evangelical law* doth not for every default whatsoever, yea, though by grace it could have been avoided, denounce against man exclusion from the

kingdom of heaven, and much less doth it threaten hell torments for this; but only for such sins as are repugnant to the very end of the law, the love of God above all things, and do more immediately resist the divine loving-kindness. 7. The extraordinary indulgence of the Gospel doth herein eminently shine forth, that it promiseth forgiveness of all, even of the most grievous sins, committed either before or after the grace of it shall be received, upon condition of *repentance:* but then this repentance, so far as it relateth to the more grievous sins, which are called *deadly*, must be most exact and perfectly practical. These are the seven pillars upon which his whole superstructure, concerning the difference of the first and second covenant, and his comparison of the Law and the Gospel doth subsist. And he concludeth against Mr. Truman, that if the covenant of life made with Adam was annulled by his sin, both for himself and his posterity; if the posterity of Adam, to whom the new covenant of life hath not been revealed, are only bound to the observance of the moral and natural law, which cannot of itself give eternal life; and if there be no other new covenant of life entered into by God with fallen mankind, then certainly there is no covenant or law, prior to the Gospel, and distinguished from it, which doth require of lapsed man the most absolute obedience, and most perfect virtue, with regard to eternal rewards and punishments in another life. Also against him he disputeth both from the Scriptures and Fathers, that the Gospel is a *ministration of spirit*, so that the Spirit of Christ must be individually conjoined with his law, that commanding nothing which his grace is not sufficient to perform. And he dis- 1675.

1675. puteth against him, that it was not only the common opinion of all the catholic doctors who lived before Pelagius, that a man might by the grace of Christ fulfil all his commandments: but that it was the very sentiment also of the greatest enemies of the Pelagian heresy, and most eminent writers against it, as particularly of St. Augustin, and St. Hierom, with our venerable Bede.

An hypothesis of Mr. Truman's examined.

XXXVI. The hypothesis of Mr. Truman, as established in both his discourses, being this; "That "the reasoning of St. Paul against justification by "the Mosaical law, supposes that law to require "an impossible condition of justification, or such an "absolute righteousness as no man through his *moral* "*impotence* can ever discharge;" our author endeavoureth to demonstrate, that the reasonings of that apostle in his Epistles, both to the Romans and the Galatians, go upon quite another foundation; and that they suppose that in the Mosaical law, as understood *according to the letter*, there was no true justification at all, or remission of sins reaching beyond this life, ever set forth. And truly if this be not demonstrated by those many arguments and testimonies which he hath brought; it must at least be confessed, that so much is here said against the contrary opinion, as to render it very highly improbable. And as for his objection of the *spirituality of the law*, about which he hath said indeed so many fine things, Mr. Bull here distinguisheth, and saith it was generally the opinion of the ancients, that the word *law* is taken in Scripture in several senses; that in St. Paul's Epistles it is taken, either according to the *letter*, or else according to the *spirit*:

and that this last is no other than the very Gospel itself, as being hid under ancient figures, and covered over with the veil of ceremonies, first explained by Moses himself, as well as the time could then bear, next by the succeeding prophets more clearly manifested, and last of all, by Christ and his apostles most fully revealed as the sun at noon-day: that those encomiums which are attributed to the law, of being *spiritual, holy*, &c. are properly applicable to it, as taken according to the *spirit*, or for the Gospel itself: that whensoever St. Paul detracteth from the law, or denieth justification to be by the works of it, he then always understandeth it as taken according to the *letter*. And, lastly, that the apostle doth very fitly take the law either in *one* sense or in the *other*, either *spiritually* or *carnally*, according to the differing sentiments of those to whom he wrote his Epistles. And whereas Mr. Truman had objected against Mr. Bull, that his degrading the laws of Mount Sinai so low as he had done, was in effect a reflection upon God himself, the author of it; and that he had misinterpreted St. Paul, by making him say, That the law did not promise such things, as that a man had need of *faith*, which is the evidence of things not seen, to believe them; but promised only things of *sense*, not of *faith*: and also by supposing the apostle's meaning, Gal. iii. 21. to be, that the fault was in the law, not in the men; because if the law promised it, men would have attained life by that law: and so making an excuse thereby for the carnal and servile genius of the generality of the Jews, as suited to their law; if the law of Mount Sinai was indeed such a dispensation of servitude, and fit to beget in men a mean and servile

1675.

Page 132. &c.

1675. disposition of mind: Mr. Bull answereth, that it would be very unjust to charge God herewith, seeing that by his wise and gracious providence, sufficient care was taken that the Jews might not stick in the letter of the *Mount Sinai law*, but might look beyond it. For he sheweth how God provided that the tradition of life to come, derived down by the patriarchs, either immediately from himself or otherwise, might be kept up under the law, and be both expounded and confirmed by the sermons of the prophets, whom he raised up in their several ages for instruction and conduct to his people. He saith, the patriarchal tradition is clear, both by the prophecy and example of Enoch; and that the subsistence of the soul, after the death of the body, was hence believed by the most ancient Jews who lived after the delivery of the law by Moses. And this he especially gathereth and confirmeth, from the history of king Saul consulting the pythoness of Endor, and seeking of her, that he might have some discourse with Samuel that was then dead; which he would never certainly have done, had he not believed the soul of the deceased prophet to survive. He argueth also to the same effect from the original of *necromancy*, the most ancient of all divinations, founded upon this separate subsistence of the soul; from the *gospel of Moses*, or his sermon in the plains of Moab, wherein he calleth the Israelites off from the outward ceremonies of the law which he had taught them, to inward godliness; and from the circumcision of the flesh to the circumcision of the heart: and expressly admonisheth them, that the whole business of their salvation did turn upon this one precept of loving God with all their heart: and from the *prophetical*

testimony, more especially instancing in such passages of [r] Samuel and David, of Isaiah, Jeremiah, of Hosea and Micah as are herein most clear and express. Whence he concludeth, that the Jews, who in St. Paul's time stuck to the bare letter of the *Mount Sinai law*; whether they were Pharisees, who acknowledged indeed a mystery in the letter of the *promise*, but could not see beyond the letter of the precept; or whether they were Sadducees, who understood both the promises and precepts of the Mosaical law, according to the letter only; were without excuse. So that after all, the difference betwixt Mr. Truman and Mr. Bull will be found very inconsiderable. 1675.

The character of the *rectifier*.

This Mr. Truman was indeed a person of a deep and searching genius, but perhaps too metaphysical: candid in fully representing the argument of his adversary without disguise, and commending whatever he thought worthy of commendation; but severe also in his animadversions, where he believed he wanted not sufficient grounds for so doing: generous very often in his manner of treating those he dissented from; but sometimes yet unreasonably suspicious and scrupulous: cool and moderate in the management of his cause, with very little appearance of passion and prejudice; but vigorous yet and zealous for the *rectifying* of some certain opinions, which he took to be contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, for which he still continued to profess an esteem. This made him respected by several eminent divines of our church; and even by

[r] 1 Sam. xv. 22. Psalm l. 1—17. and li. 16, 17. Isai. i. 10—21. Jerem. vii. 21, 22, 23. Hosea vi. 6. Mic. vi. 6, 7, 8.

1675. such also of them, who did not agree with him in his darling notions. His knowledge was not confined to his own profession, for he had a good share of skill, not only in the *statute* and *common law*, but also in the *civil*: he was a good critic in the learned tongues, particularly in the Greek, where by the great strength of his memory his head would supply the place of a *lexicon*; and though he was ejected for nonconformity, yet during his recess from his public station, he commonly attended the worship of God in public.

Bishop Nicholson, Mr. Bull's patron, dies; his character.

XXXVII. While Mr. Bull was busied in this controversy with Mr. Gataker and Mr. Truman, and was designing to have a fair copy transcribed, he lost his very good friend and patron the bishop, who had hitherto directed and assisted him. For the good prelate having at heart the good of the church and the honour of his clergy, and being a great encourager of learning and learned men, within his sphere and district at least, had a great satisfaction in Mr. Bull, and failed not upon all proper occasions to express his esteem for him: and on the other side, Mr. Bull took no small pleasure, as in seeing himself so favoured and honoured by his diocesan, so also in making all suitable returns of duty and gratitude on his part. He was always a singular admirer of that condescension and familiarity, of that truly paternal care which he found in this good bishop, who by his learned writings had defended and maintained the Church of England against her adversaries, when she was under a cloud; and after that she had rid out the storm, did not omit to do all that became an excellent prelate, for supporting

the catholic faith and discipline professed in her communion, both by himself and by others. He died at Gloucester, having sat in that chair above eleven years, in the 82d of his age, upon the 5th of February 167½, with the reputation of a truly primitive bishop. His works shew him to have been a person of great learning, piety, and prudence, particularly his *Apology for the Discipline of the ancient Church*, printed the year before the Restoration; and his *Exposition of the Apostles' Creed*, the year succeeding it; with his *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, that hath had many editions. And as he was not only for his knowledge of the Fathers and Schoolmen consulted by Mr. Bull, but also for the great share of critical learning whereof he was master: so his singular affability, modesty, and candour, made his loss in an especial manner to be regretted by him. 1675.

Bishop Nicholson's epitaph, writ by Mr. Bull.

A worthy gentleman, Owen Brigstock, esq. of Carmarthenshire, grandson to bishop Nicholson's lady, out of respect to his lordship's memory, did, at his own charge, erect a very handsome monument, in a chapel of the cathedral church of Gloucester, in order to perpetuate it. The care of the inscription was left to Mr. Bull, whereby he had an opportunity to draw his patron's character in short; and because it is at the same time a proof how capable Mr. Bull was even of such a performance, the reader, I believe, will not think it improper to be recorded in his Life, and is as followeth;

Æternitati S.
In spe beatæ resurrectionis,
Hîc reverendas exuvias deposuit
Theologus insignis,
Episcopus vere primitivus

1675.

Gulielmus Nicholson,
In agro Suffolciano natus,
Apud Magdalenenses educatus,
Ob fidem regi et ecclesiæ afflictæ præstitam,
Ad sedem Glocestrensem merito promotus,
Anno MDCLX.

In concionibus frequens,
In scriptis nervosus,
Legenda scribens, et faciens scribenda.
Gravitas Episcopalis in fronte emicuit;
Pauperibus quotidianâ charitate beneficus,
Comitate erga clerum et literatos admirandus.
Gloriæ ac dierum satur,
In palatio suo ut vixit pie decessit
Febru. 5°. anno ætatis LXXXII.
Dom. MDCLXXI.

Elizabetha conjux præivit, in hoc sacello
Sepulta Ap. XX. An. Dom. MDCLXIII.
Owenus Brigstock de Lechdenny
In comitatu Caermarthen Armiger,
Prædictæ Elizabethæ Nepos
Hoc grati animi monumentum
(Executore recusante)
Propriis sumptibus erexit, An. MDCLXXIX.

[There can be little doubt but that the following epitaph in the church of Suddington St. Mary was also written by Bull.

Hic juxta repositum jacet quod mortale erat
Richardi Bridges generosi,
Juvenis ingenio formaque præcellentis,
Qui ante quadriennium in matrimonio exactum
Amissa incomparabili conjuge
Filia unica Geo. Hanger de Driffeild Arm.
(Qua mortua vix ipsi vita fuit mortalis,)
Dein post menses aliquot variolarum morbo correptus
(Amicis et quotquot ipsum nôrunt mœrentibus)
Hac vita excessit V. Kal. Feb. MDCLXXVI.
Heu spes mundi fallaces.
Tu superne quærito.]

Upon the death of this excellent bishop, we are told by Mr. Bull himself, that he laid perfectly aside the papers which he had drawn up in defence of his *Harmonia*, against the strictures of the younger Gataker, with a design they should have been communicated to his lordship, had he lived longer, and so have been submitted wholly to his censure and disposal. But as the bishop did not much insist to have Mr. Bull's answer, when he had considered Mr. Gataker's Animadversions, and found so little matter in them deserving one: and as Mr. Bull, when he had finished his answer, which was in a few months after he had received it, began to grow more cool and indifferent, the warmth of his spirits being now a little evaporated; and did not care, as he confessed, to take the pains of reviewing and transcribing it for the bishop's perusal and examination: the said answer was dropped for the present, and, the bishop dying in the mean time, was hereupon condemned to lie buried in his study, among his neglected papers, having no farther thoughts of letting them see the light, since he was now dead whom he entirely depended upon for his fatherly direction in this matter; and by whose advice and assistance his former book had been published to the world, which gave occasion for this. Whereof there is this account, that presently upon his receiving his own book from the bishop's hand, with those animadversions interspersed, he set himself with all his might to expose the weakness of them, and more fully vindicate the catholic truths, which he had before so publicly maintained in his first book, against all that is commonly brought for the support

1675.

How a stop was put to Mr. Bull's designs, of vindicating some catholic doctrines.

1675. of modern notions contrary to them. [a] And he acquainteth us, that his papers against Mr. Gataker were written only at his leisure hours, in the midst of much other business continually interrupting him, and with so much haste, that they were not to be read by any body besides himself, and hardly by himself neither, except with the help of his memory. The reason for his so hastily setting about this reply, was, besides that most terrible complaint presented against him, by his most passionate and unfair censurer, who was in hopes of getting his book condemned, and the author silenced, and thought, no doubt, he should hereby do God good service, a dissatisfaction in some, that were otherwise hearty well-wishers both to the church and him, who were yet of the opinion, that he had written somewhat too freely in some parts of his *Harmony*. And though these Animadversions were not indeed printed, yet having been addressed in a solemn manner to the governors of the church, and strenuously also insisted upon in letters to several of them, as a matter of the utmost consequence to the church; and great means being also used to hinder his preferment by some very eminent men; he thought his silence might be interpreted by some as a tacit acknowledgment of his guilt, and that even his delay might be misconstrued also, and give an advantage to his adversary. Upon this, he concluded not to wait for a set answer to his book, as some would have had him, but immediately fell upon his *animadverter*, and meeting by the way with an *endeavour* of a more moderate adversary, could not alto-

[a] Præf. ad Examen Censuræ.

gether pass him by. But the bishop's death inter- 1675.
vening, as was said, put a stop to what he had designed, so that he had no farther thoughts about it, till the matter was revived afresh by a book of the learned Dr. Tully, levelled directly at him, of which there will be occasion to speak more hereafter.

How public lectures were read against him at Oxford.

About the same time Dr. Barlow, then Margaret Professor at Oxford, and afterwards bishop of Lincoln, in some of his lectures before that learned body, is said to have treated Mr. Bull very roughly, even so far as to give him opprobrious names; an account of which was sent him by his learned and pious friend, Mr. Thomas, at that time chaplain of Christ Church, and resident in that university, who was then present, and took notes of all that related to his friend in those lectures. This treatment brought Mr. Bull to Oxford, who with Mr. Thomas waited upon the professor, told him with what inhumanity he had been treated by him, and offered to clear himself from those imputations by a public disputation; but this would not be accepted of. Mr. Bull and his friend thought it very hard to have lectures read against him in the university by so great a man, as if he were not only to be held for an *heretic* by the church, but even for an *heresiarch* too; and not to have liberty after all granted him to purge himself from such a public charge of heresy, in the ordinary way of disputation, and before the same auditory to whom he, for the sake of his book, had been thus represented in such gross colours; they could not believe such a proceeding was by any means equal or justifiable in the professor. A disputation was all that Mr. Bull desired for himself; but was prudently enough declined by this

1675. doctor of the chair, not knowing what might have been the consequences thereof. He excused himself therefore to Mr. Bull as well as he could, and endeavoured to avoid owning the fact, till Mr. Thomas positively affirmed it to his face, offering to produce the notes which he had taken; to which the professor had no more to say: and they parted with no other satisfaction to Mr. Bull, than that the person who had been so forward to defame him in his absence, durst not make good the charge to his face.

How Dr. Tully became Dr. Barlow's second against Mr. Bull.

XXXVIII. Thus Mr. Bull having got the better of the professor, and hearing no more after this from the divinity-chair, had some rest for a time, and an opportunity therewith, of examining some other controversies of another nature. But though Dr. Barlow was silent after this visit made him, and cared not to meddle more with Mr. Bull; yet a friend and colleague of his was found willing to undertake the cause, and carry on the charge of heterodoxy and innovation against Mr. Bull, which in his lectures he had begun, but wanted courage to maintain. This was Dr. Tully, formerly fellow of Queen's college, and then principal of St. Edmund's hall adjoining: who was indeed an eloquent and learned writer: nor must it be denied, that he was a very valuable person for other reasons, and that he did much good in the university. He had some time before printed a sort of [t] system in divinity, for the use of young students, which had been well received,

[t] Præcipuorum Theologiæ Capitum Enchiridion didacticum. Lond. 1665, 1668, &c.

it having had several editions. But his notions being partly different from those of Mr. Bull in his *Harmonia*, the doctor was prevailed on to appear against him and his book in Latin; and thereby to vindicate both himself and his friend, who had been in such a manner challenged as hath been related. And whereas no answer had yet appeared to Mr. Bull's book, but one in English, and that written too by one that was thrown out by act of parliament from the exercise of his ministry; and as this might be matter of applause to Mr. Bull and his friends, that no one yet of the Church of England had undertook to answer him from the press; and that a famous professor, and he reputed no small master in the *polemical part* of his profession more especially, thought not fit to venture, when nearly attacked, to maintain the cause against him, but seemed rather to retract the charge of heresy, which had been by him so liberally bestowed; it was therefore concluded, that this charge could not, with any modesty, be kept up longer against the *Harmonia* and its author, without there was a thorough answer to it, written by some learned divine of the Church of England; and one against whom there could lie no exception; who should therein endeavour to make out, that Mr. Bull's explication of the doctrine of justification was properly *heretical*, as being contrary in a fundamental point to the testimony of Scripture, and against the opinion of the catholic Fathers, the judgment of the Church of England, and the determinations of all the foreign reformed churches. 1675.

Now there could not be any one fitter for this than the learned person already mentioned, being of a The fitness of Dr. Tully for such an

1675. life and character unexceptionable; but who had early imbibed other sentiments than those which Mr. Bull had published, and thence had read both the Scriptures and the ancient church writers with quite another view: and, besides, he being beneficed *in the church*, for the doctrines of which, against all innovations and innovators, he expressed an extraordinary zeal; and governor at the same time of an house *in the university*, which was by his diligence and exact discipline made to flourish; and *chaplain* also in ordinary to the king: all this could not but make it to look somewhat more like a battery from the side of the Church of England, as it was intended, than any that had yet been; and there would thus want one objection at least against him in Mr. Bull's favour, which was too obvious not to have been taken notice of, in the case of one, if not both of Mr. Bull's former adversaries. An answer therefore was accordingly undertaken by this learned doctor, with no small confidence of success.

undertaking, and the high expectations from him.

Some nevertheless of his friends would feign have dissuaded him from engaging in this matter, being of opinion, that he would but hereby create himself an unnecessary labour, without serving the church, according as he purposed: and they plainly told him, that the point disputed was not of all that consequence which he took it to be; and that therefore it would be more advisable to drop the controversy, for the sake of the church's peace, than by this means to revive and keep it up; especially considering, that probably in the end this would turn to a mere strife about terms. They who gave him this advice, whosoever they were, had not hitherto declared themselves on either side, as it appears, but

Some endeavours of modest men in the church, to put a stop to these contentions.

expressed themselves with much candour and moderation towards both: and would gladly have allayed the heats of one against the other, and amicably have composed their differences. But Dr. Tully was not able to bear this their *lukewarmness* and *indifferency*, as it appeared to him to be: and so far was their sober admonition from working upon him, that this did but the more raise his zeal, and quicken him to persist the more steadfastly in his [u] resolution, of defending what he looked on, as the very *palladium* of the reformation. And so deep was this notion imprinted on his mind, that he was amazed any one should think otherwise: nor could he tell how to pardon them, who charitably advised him not to intermeddle in this cause, which bishop Sanderson [x] declined, because he was not for entering into a controversy, whereof he could never expect to see an end. Yea, the more he was convinced that these were *wise* and learned men, and lovers of the truth, his admiration grew the greater; and he could not forbear breaking out into the highest astonishment, that such as these should be so far carried away with the gallionism of the age, as to consider the *most noble* and *momentous* of all controversies (in his opinion) as little better than a squabble about words. Thus there were several endeavours used to quash that intestine strife in the church. But nothing it seems was able to divert the doctor's purpose of engaging Mr. Bull, when he was once resolved of the matter, and so he pursued his design, being borne up with an immoderate as- 1675.

[u] Epist. Dedic. et Præf. n. 3, 4. Justif. Paulina.

[x] [Made bishop of Lincoln in 1670.]

1675. surance of the goodness of his cause, even so far as to fancy the light or evidence thereof to be clearer than the sun himself.

What Mr. Bull did when he heard Dr. Tully was writing against him.

XXXIX. A great while before it went to the press, the book, which Dr. Tully had been set to write, for the reasons already suggested, was discoursed of at Oxford: and thus coming to the knowledge of the worthy person, against whom it was principally directed, he thought it his duty to consult, as much as in him lay, the peace of the church; that so the adversaries thereof might have no occasion to triumph. And therefore he resolved to offer the doctor all reasonable satisfaction in the first place, entreating him, for that end, the favour of a friendly conference betwixt them: that so, before he should publish what he was preparing against him for the press, they might come rightly to understand each other, and not lose in the combat what they were both equally contending for. Whence he pressed him much, that the truth might be so amicably and candidly examined by them, as became Christians and divines, that no cause of scandal might remain; but that on the contrary, every offence might be removed so far as was possible. And if any had been justly given, by his *Dissertations* upon *Justification*, or by either of them, or any error or mistake by him therein committed, he said, it should freely be owned and confessed by him, so soon as ever it could be made to appear; this however was denied him, of which he afterwards complained; and it was thought he had reason so to do. For,

While this treatise of Dr. Tully was yet, accord-

ing to his own expression [y], *sticking in the birth*, there was brought about a meeting of him and Mr. Bull, for this very end. At which, Mr. Bull telling him how he heard that he was writing against him, did very earnestly beseech him, "above all things to "consider well the peace of God's church, and to "take diligent heed, lest by public dissension be- "tween two divines of the same communion, the "enemies of our church might take occasion of up- "braiding and reproaching her; or, besides the "schismatics, some even of her own weak members "might happen to be offended hereby also. And "did therefore entreat him, that he would for pre- "venting this evil be pleased, as a friend, to com- "municate to him his papers; upon this condition, "that if by these he could make it out, that he "had written any thing against sound doctrine, he "would not refuse *publicly to retract* his error." This proposal appeared then so very reasonable, that Dr. Tully seemed to agree to it, and answered, "That he might in a very little while "send him perhaps a copy of those his papers." But after this, Mr. Bull never once heard from him; nor had any reason given him for the alteration of his mind.

1675. What passed at a visit of Mr. Bull to Dr. Tully

At length, about the beginning of the year 1674, there was published at Oxford, after much expectation, *permissu superiorum*, according as the title-page expresseth it, a Latin treatise; which was inscribed, *Justificatio Paulina sine operibus, ex mente Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, omniumque reliquarum quæ Reformatæ audiunt asserta et illustrata contra*

Dr. Tully publishes his answer to Mr. Bull

[y] [Apol. pro Harm. sect. ii. 4.]

1675. *superos* NOVATORES: *Authore Tho. Tullio, S.T.P.* &c. that is, Justification, as delivered by St. Paul, *without works*, asserted and illustrated according to the sense of the Church of England, and of all the rest of the *reformed churches*, against the late *innovators:* by Thomas Tully, D.D. and Principal of Edmund hall in Oxford, &c. with the permission of superiors; in 4to. To this was also added another short tract at the end, in answer more particularly to the *ninth* chapter of Mr. Bull's second dissertation of his *Harmonia*, without ever mentioning his name, under the title of *Dissertatiuncula de Sententia Paulina, Rom.* vii. *a com.* 14; *in qua ostenditur Paulum de se loqui regenito, non autem in persona hominis nondum regeniti.* i. e. A short Dissertation, concerning the meaning of St. Paul in the viith to the Romans, from the 14th verse; wherein is shewn, that St. Paul speaketh not in the person of a man unregenerate, but of himself as *regenerate*. Now notwithstanding that the author was encouraged to the publication of this book by bishop Morley[z]; [a] who read it over in manuscript, not without some shew of approbation, (the Appendix aforesaid only excepted, which we are told was revised and approved by another learned prelate of our church, whose name is not indeed expressed; but whom I suppose to have been the then bishop of Lincoln, even his good friend Dr. Barlow, lately[b] advanced to that see:) it is yet said, he met with no small obstructions in the bringing it forth[c], and was forced at last to

[z] [Bishop of Worcester in 1660, and translated to Winchester in 1683.]

[a] Epist. Dedic. p. 5. [b] [In 1675.]

[c] [Vid. Apol. pro Harm. sect. ii. 4.]

make use of an artifice, before he could obtain leave to have it printed: whence he calleth this his book, [d] *Infœlicis Horoscopi fœtus;* as if it were born under an *unfortunate planet;* and so heavily complaineth of the hardness of its parent's labour, as also of his being threatened with a smart answer. Of the occasion and motives for his engaging in this controversy, enough hath been said already. Of the contents and method of his book, so far at least as Mr. Bull was therein concerned, it remains now to give some account, for the affording a light to the history of this controversy, and to some part of the life of so eminent a writer in our church, as this that I am now employed in. 1675.

The manner of his stating the question, and establishing his own opinion.

He stateth then the question after this manner. There is no disagreement, saith he, between them about the sense of the word *justification;* and he alloweth these four things, viz. 1. That the faith which justifieth is not *barren,* and fruitless of good works. 2. That the *radical seeds* or *habits* of the other virtues are also infused together into the soul along with faith. 3. That good works are needful to salvation; so that without them it cannot be attained. 4. That justification may, in a *declarative* sense, be attributed to works of righteousness; all this he freely yieldeth to Mr. Bull. But the τὸ κρινόμενον in this controversy, according to him, "is *that,* for the "*sake* of which God may receive a sinner to grace, "may acquit him from the curse of the law, and "may make him an heir of everlasting life." And it is here agreed, that on God's part this must be the *merit of Christ,* and *that alone;* the only dif-

[d] Præf. p. 7.

1675. ference ariseth from the *application* of this merit; that is, whether it be by faith and works together, or else by the former alone. This latter opinion is by him maintained to be the doctrine of the *church* of England, and the *catholic church*, and particularly of all the churches that are called *reformed:* and the other he accuseth of great singularity and novelty, which he undertaketh to prove, but with what success, is left to the learned and candid examiner to judge. For he [c] challengeth all the Fathers, both before and after St. Augustin, to be of his opinion; most heavily charging, at the same time, the contrary one, as unsupported by any one Christian writer. He readily yieldeth indeed, that there are different uses of the word *justification* found among the holy Fathers; but contendeth, that they all universally agree in the thing itself, and stand up *against* the righteousness of works, *for* the righteousness of faith, in our acceptance with God. And thus having claimed the judgment of the catholic Fathers, without so much as one of them excepted, to be unanimously for him; and triumphed over Mr. Bull, as he thought, on this head, where his greatest excellency was generally esteemed to lie; he proceedeth to [f] explain the doctrine of the Church of England, from her Articles and Homilies, insisting very much upon the literal and grammatical sense of them, and from the testimony of some of her most learned writers, such as Mr. Hooker and bishop Andrews: and then [g] passeth on to the judgment of the foreign reformed churches; instancing in the several confessions of the protestants of Germany,

[c] Cap. ii. p. 12. [f] Cap. iii. p. 20. [g] Cap. iv. p. 28.

France, Holland, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Switzerland, besides the oriental confessions of faith by Cyrillus Lucaris. All which he hath endeavoured to bring over to his side, not without some appearance of truth, and appealed to as witnesses for him, against the *harmonist.* 1675.

His account of the reasons why all are not of his opinion.

Now having laboured to establish his own opinion, which he supposeth to be the faith of the Church of England, and to fortify it by the authority of Fathers and Synods, and by the whole strength of the reformation; his next endeavour is, to inquire how Mr. Bull, or any other, the matter appearing to him so very plain, could possibly fall into the contrary opinion. Wherefore the far greatest part of his book is taken up in discovering what he is pleased to call, the *fountains of this error.* The 1st of these is, according to him, the [h] *abuse* of the doctrine concerning justification, as by him explained, or the fear of *antinomianism;* and upon this he spends a whole chapter. The 2d is the [i] distinction between justifying works and the *merit* of them; upon this he hath also another chapter, and is large in discussing the meaning of that distinction, *ex operibus* and *propter opera.* The 3d is the [k] exclusion of *some* works, and the admission of the *rest,* contrary (as he will have it) to the express mind of St. Paul. The 4th is the [l] *imputative* righteousness of Christ, either exploded or not rightly understood; which he maintaineth to be a very great cause of error in this matter. The 5th is the manner of arguing from the [m] *concomitance* of works *with* faith, for the jus-

[h] Cap. v. p. 39. [i] Cap. vi. p. 44. 167. [k] Cap. vii. p. 52. [l] Cap. viii. p. 76. [m] Cap. ix. p. 96. 170.

1675. tification *by* works. The 6th is the misunderstanding the [n] *nature* of justifying faith. The 7th and last is the [o] *symbolizing* with *popery*. These he maketh the *seven sources*, or causes of departing from the unity of the church's doctrine, concerning justification, as the same is stated by him; and to make this out he hath spared no labour, and hath said some things that are not amiss. This inquiry being finished, the last chapter was reserved by him for the [p] reconciliation of St. Paul and St. James. But he thinketh there was no need of it, and condemneth the *harmonist* and others, for being at so much pains, where there was so little occasion for it; there being no disagreement at all, saith he, between them, seeing that they speak not of the same faith or justification, and so cannot differ. However, he commendeth Mr. Bull's industry, and wisheth only, that he might employ his parts for the cause of truth and of the Christian faith. This treatise Dr. Tully was willing should be thought to have been written by him, in defence of the XIth Article of the Church of England. It was learnedly writ, and with some spirit, and by many at first it was approved of, who concluded that he had the better of the *harmonist*, especially in his 2d, 3d, and 4th chapters, where his chief strength was thought to consist, and in the *conclusion*.

The design of his discourse, *De Sententia Paulina.*

XL. As Dr. Tully's treatise of *Justification* was pretended to be written *in defence of the XIth*, so was his dissertation of *Original Sin*, which is his commentary on the seventh to the Romans, no less

[n] Cap. x. p. 104. [o] Cap. xi. p. 115. [p] Cap. xii. p. 131.

pretended to be written *in defence of the IXth* Article of our religion. 1675. The principal design whereof is to explain and defend these following propositions, and more particularly the last of them; viz. 1. Original sin is the *depravation* of *nature*, propagated from Adam to every man. 2. By this depravation man is very much departed from *original righteousness*, and hath a natural propensity to evil, the flesh lusting always against the spirit. 3. This very depravation and corruption of nature is not only at first in every person born into this world, but doth remain even in them that are *regenerate*. 4. The *permanence* of such depravation in the regenerate is confessed and avowed by St. Paul, and that even in his own person: and this hath of itself the nature of sin, and is thence no less than *seven* times called by the name of *sin* in this very seventh to the Romans. Here he mightily triumpheth over the *harmonist*, as he every where calls him, for understanding St. Paul no better, and for not attending enough to the doctrine of his own church. He chargeth him with too much precipitancy and magisterialness in judging, with affectation of novelty, with not rightly numbering the votes of the ancient Christian writers, with reviving a calumny of Pelagius against them, and with mistaking the sense of the apostle several times, and wresting it with vain and groundless criticisms. And he endeavoureth to shew, how among the Fathers, Augustin and Hierom are flatly against the *harmonist*, though they were at first, before they had examined into the matter, of another opinion; how Hilary also, Nazianzen, and others, before the disputes between Pelagius and Augustin, had the same sentiment; how a probable reason may

1675. be given, why Origen, Chrysostom, and Theodor were of another mind; that Aquinas, Salmero, P rerius, A Lapide, and Estius among the Roma writers, and even the catechism of Trent itself, a against his interpretations; and how the argumen which he hath brought for the defence thereof a not able to bear up his hypothesis, which seemeth t him grounded upon a *Pelagian bottom*, or upon th *great Diana* (as he will needs have it) of *free-wi* It seems that Dr. Tully was persuaded, that if h could but overthrow Mr. Bull's interpretation of th place in St. Paul, he should thereby be able to ove turn at once the whole fabric of his *Harmonia;* an indeed Mr. Bull himself had before given the hint[q] therefore he is so long on this point, considering as the most fundamental one in the whole building to subvert which, he was hence for leaving no ston unturned. This dissertation is by some looked o as the most considerable part of the doctor's perform ance in this cause: and is more than once taken no tice of by [r] Mr. Bull, as that which deserved hi most particular answer, and further consideration For he thought there was little else besides in wha Dr. Tully had written against him, but what he ha already answered, in examination of Mr. Gataker' angry Animadversions: and that this only had th face of any thing like a direct answer to that part o his book, which was referred to by it.

Dr. Tully dies, his character.

Soon after Dr. Tully had published his *Justifica tio Paulina*, with the mentioned dissertation, *D Sententia Paulina;* he had, by the interest of hi

[q] Harm. Apost. dissert. ii. cap. 9. n. 27.

[r] Præf. ad Examen, n. 3. Præf. ad Apol. n. 2. Apol. sect. ix. n. 1

friends at court, the deanery of Rippon given him; 1675.
which yet he enjoyed not long; for he hardly lived out a year after he had this preferment, being broken quite with his controversial studies: so that he lived not to see himself answered by Mr. Bull, though he heard of it, his *Apology* against him being in the press, and almost printed off when the good doctor departed this life. This Dr. Thomas Tully had merited the reputation of a very pious and learned man; but, as some that personally knew him have observed, it was his great misfortune that he betook himself to write controversy; and especially, that he engaged with so brisk a writer as Mr. Bull was, even then when he was well nigh worn out. Had he kept to practical divinity, few could have exceeded him: and as he was master of an excellent Latin style, with a good degree of vivacity of thought, and easiness of method, it is very probable, by those specimens he hath given the world of his ability that way, that if he had followed herein the true bias of his genius, he could not have failed to make himself famous. Some indeed seem to have had another opinion concerning him, and to think he had a genius also well enough turned for controversy. But no wonder if they were disappointed, by expecting too much of him, and beyond what the cause could really bear. And happy had it been for him, in the judgment of his best friends, had he never intermeddled in these theological wars. For neither in body nor in mind, say they, was he fitted for them. Since he was a person but of a weak constitution, and the many bodily ills and infirmities which he laboured under, especially in his later years, tended much to discompose his mind for that intense application

1675. which is here required, and to render him a little too hasty in determining matters, before they could be thoroughly considered and weighed. Otherwise he was noted for being a good disputant, as well as a good preacher and orator. But the natural severity of his temper being heated with the strict Calvinistical doctrines bound him so strait up, that he was made hereby not very capable of managing an argument with all that success which might have been expected from him, considering his parts and learning.

Mr. Bull publishes his *Examen Censuræ*, and his *Apologia* together.

XLI. In the year 1675, soon after the death of Dr. Tully, and about the end of the year, was published by our author[s], *An Examination of the Censure, or an Answer to certain Animadversions never before published, upon a book, entitled, The Apostolical Harmony*, &c. *By George Bull, a presbyter of the Church of England.* With which was joined also this other book of his, entitled, [t] *An Apology for the Apostolical Harmony, and the Author thereof, against the Declamation of Thomas Tully, D. D. in a book lately set forth by him, under the title of* Justificatio Paulina. There is a sufficient account given in the prefaces to both these discourses, of the reason why they were both published together, and why so late also: and there-

[s] Examen Censuræ sive Responsio ad quasdam Animadversiones antehac ineditas, in librum cui titulus Harmonia Apostolica, &c. per Georgium Bullum, Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ presbyterum.

[t] Apologia pro Harmonia ejusque Authore contra Declamationem Thomæ Tullii, S. T. P. in libro nuper typis evulgato quem Justificatio Paulina, &c. inscripsit.

fore it would be very foolish to object, that it is an easy matter to fight against dead men; for it was not Mr. Bull's fault, that both these replies were not printed while his adversaries were yet alive. And he is certainly to be commended, that as soon as he heard of Dr. Tully's death, he took immediate care to have several passages blotted out of the sheets remaining to be printed, because they contained some pretty sharp reflections upon him, though they were true in fact, and by some of Mr. Bull's friends thought too necessary to be omitted. Mr. Bull also professeth, as a good Christian, that he would willingly have struck out a great deal more, if it was possible to have been done without a very great injury to the truth; for as to what he might suffer in his own person through such an omission, he was not solicitous. This upon several occasions he repeateth; and certainly he may deserve to be believed in it, when he maketh such a profession of his sincerity before God and the world. 1675.

An observation on his *Examen*, which vindicates his sincerity.

So far as Gataker and Truman are concerned in the first of these treatises, there hath been enough said already: but there remaineth still one observation to be made concerning it, which respecteth the author himself. And this I cannot but here mention, because I look upon it as a greater vindication of our author, both against them and all his other adversaries, than any one that hath hitherto been mentioned; and as a greater instance of his candour and love of truth, than is to be met with in most writers at this day. I observe therefore, that his *Examen* ought not to be considered barely as an answer to his adversaries' objections, but moreover

1675. as a fuller explication of his own sentiments. For [u] he very solemnly assureth us, that when he was above forty years of age, he read over again his *Harmonia* several times; that he did this with as much seriousness and impartiality as it was possible for him; and that he earnestly prayed to God in the first place, that he would vouchsafe to enlighten his mind with a beam of his heavenly light, and to discover unto him every error of his whatsoever against the divine truth; that for this end, he did his utmost to strip himself of all self-love, and of fondness for his own work; yea, that he made also a [x] *vow*, and most solemnly and sacredly bound himself to God, that upon the discovery of his errors, he would openly and publicly before the church renounce them, without the least regard had therein to his own reputation. Upon which review of his work, so accurately and so religiously performed, he declareth, that there were some things in it which might have been explained more clearly and fully, and which indeed ought to have been so, for the sake at least of younger readers; and that therefore he had endeavoured to supply this explication as well as he could in his *Examen*. Moreover he confesses, that he had discovered his interpretation of a difficult place or two in St. Paul not to be so certain as he at first thought; but that he could not learn any that was more certain. Wherefore also, he is not for insisting at all upon what is in its nature ob-

[u] Apolog. sect. viii. n. 5.

[x] Quibus [precibus] sancte quoque *vovi* et sponsondi, me ostensos errores, susque deque habita existimatione mea, palam et publice coram ecclesia abrenuntiaturum. *Ibid.*

scure and difficult, or what requireth an exactness of critical skill, or what is only incidental and circumstantial, but only upon the main of the argument, which he[y] supposeth he hath sufficiently cleared. And however he may possibly be mistaken in some lesser matters, he protesteth, that as to the substance of the doctrine of man's justification, which is by him defended according to the mind of both apostles, he is not without the highest degree of certainty of his being in the right. To give some few instances of matters explained by Mr. Bull in this latter piece, which wanted to be more distinctly and fully stated, it may be sufficient to mention the[z] *form* of justifying faith, the *imputative* righteousness of Christ, the questions about the *Mosaical law*, and the nature of the *first covenant* with man in his state of integrity. 1675.

And as to the other treatise, written in answer to Dr. Tully, the same observation will also hold good. For there are abundance of passages in this up and down, which do clearly confirm the great sincerity and ingenuity of our author in the management of this controversy. And if this be not a fair and full apology, both for himself and his *Harmonia*, against what was objected by that reverend doctor and his revisors, there never was a cause in the world fairly and fully defended. And I must needs say also, that he hath made the best apology for his adversary too, that could be made, in one article, wherein he is contrary to him, and which by parity of reason may be extended to the rest of the articles in like manner, wherein they do not agree. For with much inge- An observation upon his *Apology*, which confirms the same.

[y] Exam. Cens. Epilogus.

[z] Exam. Cens. Respons. ad Animadv. ii. xi. xvii. xix. xx.

1675. nuity he confesseth, "That [a] Dr. Tully had not a "few divines of the Church of England, and those "of some eminence also in it, who had led him into "the error; but that these learned men lived in "those times, when, by the arts of some certain "persons that were extremely wedded to the *Geneva* "*divinity*, matters were come to that pass, that it "was hardly safe for any one to interpret either the "*Articles* of our church, or even the *holy Scrip-* "*tures* themselves, otherwise than according to the "standard of *Calvin's Institutions*, whose error "therefore, saith he, ought not so much to be im- "puted to them, as to the age wherein they lived. "Since almost in every age, as one hath well ob- "served, there is as it were a certain *torrent* of "opinions proper to it, against which, whosoever "shall go to oppose himself, he will certainly either "be carried away with the violence thereof, or be "quite overwhelmed." This is an observation that is very just; and the candour of Mr. Bull, in the application of it, ought not, I think, to be quite passed over in silence. Nay, did I know a better excuse for Dr. Tully, and other good and learned men, who were educated in such times, and according to such principles, and so were carried on by the zeal of what was called *orthodox*, I would be as willing to do him and them right, as the worthy person whose life I am writing. But I know no better than that which this judicious apologist hath made himself on their behalf. There are not a few instances besides in this very treatise, which prove him a sincere as well as a learned writer, but which

[a] Apol. sect. vii. n. 7.

cannot be here insisted on. It is much to be lamented, that so good a man as Dr. Tully was generally esteemed to be, should so unhappily be engaged in a controversy of this nature, but especially, that he should be so far transported in the management of it, as not to examine with a due care the arguments and authorities of his author whom he proposed to answer, and thereby should lay himself too open to a just censure, and should hurt his reputation so far, as even to render himself by this means suspected of some insincerity. Yet it is to be feared, that this hath been the case of many an honest man, who, by the strength of prejudice and an impetuosity of zeal, may have been carried much farther than ever was designed, to the no small prejudice of the truth. But for Mr. Bull it must needs be acknowledged, that with a very laudable diligence he spared no pains, that he might thoroughly and impartially examine all that ever his adversary could bring against him: neither must it be denied, that he hath made such just and reasonable concessions, as render his own cause the stronger, while they yield to the opposite that which it might lawfully demand. And indeed, this his apology is written with so much masterly strength and judgment, that a very learned foreigner called it the *Triumph of the Church of England* in this cause. 1675. Dr. Grabe.

XLII. Now whereas the authority of certain foreign divines had been made use of in this controversy by Dr. Tully and others, against the catholic tradition of this article, as explained and maintained in the *Harmonia*, our apologist affirms it to be most unreasonable, and against the principles of the The preferring modern authority before catholic tradition, shewn to be unreasonable.

1675. Church of England, to prefer the authority of any modern doctor or doctors whatsoever, before a truth grounded upon Scripture, with the unanimous consent of the catholic church. Upon this occasion, he taketh notice of what bishop Jewel had urged before, in his Apology for our Reformation, that it was founded purely upon catholic principles, and upon the model of the primitive church; by which means the new discipline introduced by Calvin being rejected, the order of episcopacy was retained, and the most ancient forms of public prayers, and sacred rites, and several primitive doctrines, not in the least agreeable with Calvin's notions, which are by him there particularized, were established and confirmed. And as for the judgment of the Church of England upon this point, he appealeth to a canon made in full convocation, A. D. 1571, and afterwards confirmed by queen Elizabeth, whereby it is ordained, that all preachers *shall chiefly take heed, that they teach nothing but what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and what the catholic fathers and primitive bishops have thence collected.* And moreover he cites a constitution of king James the First, requiring all candidates of divinity not to spend much of their time in systems and compendiums, but to apply themselves seriously to the study of such books, as are agreeable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and particularly to the reading of the fathers, councils, schoolmen, histories: and to this he adds the testimonies of many eminent writers in our church to the same purpose, professing themselves most readily to embrace, next to the sacred books, the consentient testimony of the ancient Fathers; and

that they were not willing to admit any thing, either in the *doctrine* or *government* in the church, which should not be agreeable to it. 1675.

Upon which the most learned and pious editor of his works could not forbear expressing his most hearty wishes, that there were many more of the same opinion, who would not refuse to submit their private thoughts and interpretations of Scripture, to be determined by primitive and universal tradition; hoping that this might be a means of restoring the church to a better state. Our author now hath clearly given his judgment in this matter, and hath declared himself in more than one place, that this is the best, yea the only way of ending our most unhappy controversies, which have rent the church of Christ at this day in so many parts, if next to the Scriptures, we would receive and reverence the most pure and primitive antiquity, and persuade others to the same practice, and religiously follow the *agreeing judgment* of the ancient doctors approved by the catholic church, and especially of them who were nearest to the apostolical age, wheresoever this can be found; which, he asserteth, is to be found in all those points that are of any great moment; and as for the rest, his advice is, that every one be left to the liberty of his own judgment, but so as not to disturb the peace of the church. The best method of ending controversies in the church.

XLIII. And whereas Dr. Tully had among other things[b] objected also against him, his being but little acquainted with the ancient Fathers of the church, when he published his *Harmonia*; and Mr. Bull answers Dr Tully's objection, of his little skill in the

[b] Apol. sect. iv.

1675. that therefore he should not have attempted to write when his skill in antiquity was so *moderate*; Mr. Bull modestly acknowledgeth *omnia mea modica*, that he had no great matter indeed to boast of in any part of learning: but however he gives him to understand, that for no less than five years before he wrote his *Harmonia*, he had addicted himself to the study of the Fathers next to the holy Scriptures; and more especially of the writers of the three first centuries; and likewise acquainteth him, that he had been advised to this method of reading, by a very great man in the church, who had admonished him to lay the foundation of his theological studies after that manner, and so to read downwards; whose memory was had in great honour by him. He leaves us to guess who this great man was, because he doth not name him, though it is probable, that it was either bishop Pearson or bishop Nicholson; but whoever gave the advice, he reckoneth it the happiest he ever did receive; and he wisheth that he might be but worthy to prevail on the candidates of divinity in Oxford to follow the same method.

Fathers when he writ his *Harmonia*.

Then he giveth the history of the consent of the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, in favour of his interpretation down to St. Augustin; and sheweth, that if any of these speak of justification as by *faith alone*, they never once take it for faith simply and abstractedly considered, but only as it is perfectly *formed* and animated; and so not separated from inward contrition and charity; and as the same is opposed either to external works in general, and the actual righteousness of such; or to the works of the *law of nature*, performed before and without the

The Greek and Latin Fathers favour Mr. Bull's interpretation.

knowledge, faith, and grace of the Gospel; or to the works of the *Mosaical law*; or to any others wrought from a principle of *merit* in the creature. And because Dr. Tully professeth so high an esteem for St. Augustin, as to prefer him to all antiquity, our apologist concludeth his catalogue of the Fathers with him, and clearly proveth that Father to be of his, and not of the doctor's mind; and this not only from some scattered passages in him, but from the whole design of his book, *De Fide et Operibus*, whereof an account is here given. Thus having done with the *Fathers*, 1675.

His answer about the judgment of the Church of England, and the foreign reformed.

He proceedeth next to examine the [c] judgment of the Church of England, and how truly this is represented by his adversary. And though he had abundantly before explained himself on this head, yet this being a very tender point, and so eagerly pressed by every one that had appeared against him, but most of all by this last answerer, Mr. Bull found himself under a necessity of omitting nothing that could tend to clear him from that aspersion, which was likely to prejudice people's minds most against him, and most sensibly to affect him and his ministry. Wherefore he is very large and particular in defending the true doctrine of the Church of England, and in refuting the doctor's allegations against him, from the Articles and the Homilies. After which, he examineth also with great accuracy, the judgment of the foreign reformed churches, by their several Confessions: and he is very full in vindicating the Confession of Augsburgh, which he had styled *the most noble* of all the reformed churches; and shewing

[c] Apol. sect. v.

1675. how it was followed by our first reformers, and particularly by them in compiling our Articles. Nor doth he omit any thing considerable, that could be said upon the head of all the rest of the Confessions, to prove that they taught, that besides faith true repentance was moreover necessary for the obtaining remission of sins and justification. Where the words of the noble Confession of Strasburg, which had been misinterpreted by his adversary, are by him challenged; and some passages which had been cited from others very much illustrated.

Dr. Tully charged with several errors.

XLV. And having fully justified the conformity of his doctrine to the determination of the Church of England, and to that of the other reformed churches, he goeth on to shew, that his learned adversary hath in several points contradicted both. By which he is led into the consideration of several other matters of the greatest moment, which are here distinctly and fundamentally handled; and the true catholic doctrine stated and vindicated, in opposition to certain novel opinions. More particularly, he chargeth his adversary with maintaining these four heterodoxies among others; 1st, That [d] repentance is no ways necessary for obtaining the *first justification*, or pardon for sin. [e] 2d, That our justification, being once obtained by faith alone, the continuation of it doth not depend upon the condition of good works, to be performed by us for the time to come. 3d, [f] That a man, being once endowed with justifying faith, can never afterwards so far fall from it as to be lost for ever. 4th, [g] That Christ did only satisfy and offer

[d] Apol. sect. vii. n. 2.
[e] N. 6.
[f] Apol. vii. n. 7—23.
[g] N. 24. &c.

himself upon the cross for the sins of the elect. All which positions he proveth to be repugnant to the clear and express definitions of the Church of England, and of other reformed churches, and indeed of the whole catholic church. 1675.

The ancient Fathers of Mr. Bull's opinion, upon the seventh of the Romans.

And whereas Dr. Tully had pretended, that the *harmonist* had but very few of the ancients of his opinion, as to his interpretation of the seventh to the Romans; and that after the life of Pelagius, all, or almost all of the Fathers were express against him, and that of modern divines, he had not above one or two of any eminency for him; Mr. Bull hath proved, that besides Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Macarius, Origen, Basil, Cyril, Chrysostom, Theodoret, and as many more that had been cited by Vossius and other learned men, for this interpretation of his; there were six other illustrious testimonies, which he himself had discovered, viz. Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Marcus Eremita, Dorotheus, Pacianus and Ennodius. Then he sheweth, that the interpretation of some of the moderns, espoused by his adversary, is very far from the sense and mind of St. Augustin himself, whom they so much seem to depend on: as also that the Greek fathers and doctors, even after St. Augustin and Pelagius, did constantly adhere to the interpretation received and approved in the catholic church; yea, that even all the Latin Fathers after that time, did still persist in the ancient and primitive exposition of St. Paul. And among the moderns, Mr. Bull produceth both of the Romanists and of the foreign protestants, that were eminent, a considerable number for his opinion, besides Dr. Jackson, Dr. Ham-

1675. mond, bishop Taylor, and others of our own countrymen: afterwards he answers several objections of his adversary, particularly that his interpretation was not conformable to the doctrine of our church. And whereas it was urged, that there was a great agreement between the *Harmonist's* and the *Romanist's* doctrine of justification; that objection is retorted in this Apology upon the accusers: and it is herein shewn, that the doctor's opinion doth perfectly harmonize with the popish one, established in the council of Trent, which will not have true contrition of sins to be necessary for justification, and which is contended for in opposition to the decree of that council by our apologist.

1676. Mr. Baxter also answers Dr. Tully.

XLVI. In the year 1676, there was published also an Answer to Dr. Tully, by Mr. Richard Baxter, under the title of, *A Treatise of Justifying Righteousness:* in two books; the first related to *Imputed Righteousness*, and *with an Answer to Dr. Tully's Letter;* the second contained, *A friendly Debate with the learned and worthy Mr. Christopher Cartwright; containing*, 1. *His* Animadversions *on my* Aphorisms, *with my* Answer. 2. *His* Exceptions *against that* Answer. 3. *My* Reply *to the Sum of the Controversies agitated in those* Exceptions. *All published instead of a fuller Answer to the Assaults of Dr. Tully's* Justificatio Paulina, *Lond.* 8vo. Of which treatise of Dr. Tully he sticketh not to give this character, that it is [h] *defective in point of truth, justice, charity, ingenuity, and pertinency to the matter.* Nevertheless he several times acknowledg-

[h] Part i. chap. 6.

eth the doctor to be a very worthy person, and consequently one, that could not willingly be guilty of any such defect as he is here charged with. And indeed, it was the unhappiness both of Mr. Baxter and him, that they gave but too much reason for the imputation, under which they both equally lay, of being *angry writers*. This treatment of him by Mr. Baxter I the rather mention, that, if some things in Mr. Bull's Apology may appear a little too severe upon this writer, the reader may easily think there was some occasion for it more than could have been wished. For the good man it seems had represented to himself those three, Bull, Bellarmin, and Baxter, as the *three great adversaries* of the faith, which was professed by him, and which he verily believed to be no other than that of the Church of England: and thence he falleth so very foul upon each of these, as if they were in a *triple league* together, and layeth about with all his might to overthrow what he supposeth to have been designed by them, against that which he esteemed as the very *Christian palladium*, and is by him [i] so called. The first and last of these pleaded their own cause, as we have seen; and not without success, especially the first; so only Bellarmin is left to shift for himself, who, after all, wrote notwithstanding on this subject with more moderation than most of his communion, or he himself who formed the charge against him, and who for certain was dragged into the controversy, only for the sake of the other two. 1676.

There was also another answer, about the same time, to Mr. Bull's *Harmonia*, written in Latin by How Mr. Tombes animad-

[i] Justif. Paulin.

1676. John Tombes, B. D. who hath been before mentioned; of which I find very little notice to have been taken, though some [k] will have it that there were few better disputants in his age than he was; and it is certain, that he had studied this controversy for some time before, both in his debates with the *antinomians*, and those which he had with the [l] greatest opposer of them among the presbyterians. For he had, near about twenty years before, written also in Latin [m] *some Animadversions upon Mr. Baxter's Aphorisms concerning Justification*; and had, on the other hand, preached likewise in London, before an eminent congregation, several sermons against Dr. Crisp, and certain dangerous mistakes and misapplications of the protestant doctrine of *justification*. Mr. Baxter, it seemeth, printed these animadversions of his adversary, but without acquainting him first therewith, and replied to them. This dealing, Mr. Tombes, being thereby prevented from explaining himself farther as he had intended, hath [n] complained of as hard; even as Mr. Baxter hath done of Dr. Tully: and hereupon he drew out all his artillery against Mr. Bull, whom he considered as an enemy of greater weight, and one from whom he might expect also other treatment; and therefore was resolved to make his last effort now upon one, that was esteemed the most perfect master in controversy, and who had brought together the whole strength of the cause in which he was engaged, with all the management and learning that could set it

verted upon Mr. Bull.

[k] Athen. Oxon. [l] Ed. Calam. Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, chap. ix. [m] Animadversiones quædam in Aphorismos Richardi Baxteri de Justificatione, 1658. [n] Epist. Ded. ad Animad. in Lib. G. Bulli, &c.

off to the best advantage. Besides, he took this occasion of farther clearing and justifying what he had written against the *aphorist*, before Dr. Tully entered the lists against him: and of giving the world his second and more correct thoughts upon these nice points, so controverted by protestants and papists among themselves. It is also very probable, that he did not find that satisfaction in Dr. Tully's answer to Mr. Bull, this having been out then above a year, which he first looked for: and that he was still more dissatisfied with the answer of Mr. Truman, whose principles were not a little different from his. As for the animadversions of the younger Gataker, he could not have seen them, they not being printed till his own were in the press: and if he had seen and read them, it cannot be thought that he would have been diverted by any thing in them from undertaking a labour which lay so near his heart, and whence he promised himself so great a triumph. But he was now grown old, and not the man he formerly had been, whatsoever he might think of himself, or what assurance soever he might have of victory, as an advocate for the first reformers, as he would be thought to be. For it was evidently a weakness in him, at threescore and twelve years of age, when he was quite worn out, and just ready to drop into his grave, to begin a new combat, unprovoked, and because, about twenty or thirty years before, when he was in the full vigour both of body and mind, he had been successful enough in engaging with an adversary visibly inferior in strength, to undertake now, in his latter days, to grapple with an enemy every way his superior, an exact master in the arts of this sort of war, and one 1676.

1676. so extraordinarily accomplished besides, both by experience and study, for maintaining and defending this particular cause dependent betwixt them, as our Mr. Bull was, even beyond some who otherwise might be his rivals in learning; he being then also in the very prime and fulness of strength, and every way qualified for such labours as these of the mind. The old man, zealous however for his cause, published at London his book against Mr. Bull, just at the very same time that Mr. Bull's justification of himself, and his work against Mr. Gataker and Dr. Tully, came forth. But this did him no harm at all; for he had so fully already removed all the material objections of Mr. Tombes, in his answers to the strictures of those two learned Calvinian divines, and so clearly demonstrated the weakness of their foundation, that there needed no farther apology to be made for his book and himself, against such an hypothesis as could be not better defended by the great learning of its supporters. Mr. Tombes's book was called, [o] *Animadversions upon a book of George Bull's, which he hath entitled, The Apostolical Harmony.* According to the title-page, it should have been published in 1676, but Mr. Bull had seen a printed copy of it before the end of 1675, when he was concluding his general preface to his two *apologetical* treatises aforenamed, so that the edition of it must have been in Michaelmas term of this last year, and about half a year before the author's death.

This Mr. Tombes, our author's last adversary, as

[o] Animadversiones in Librum Georgii Bulli, cui titulum fecit Harmonia Apostolica, &c.

to his cause, were it not for some notions which he fell into against the catholic practice and doctrine of the church, such as men of learning in the several communions could by no means approve of, and which particularly Mr. Bull was averse to in the highest degree, he might possibly have preserved a reputation among the learned, not inferior to many of his age. He was educated at Oxford, in Magdalen hall, under the famous Mr. William Pemble, author of *Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, and of several other learned treatises, whom he succeeded in the catechetical lecture of the said hall: and approved himself an excellent disputant, and no bad divine upon the principles of the anti-remonstrants, which were then much in fashion. It cannot be denied, but that he was esteemed a person of incomparable parts: and therefore was chosen lecturer in this hall, upon his tutor's decease, when he was yet but one-and-twenty years old, and of six years standing only in the university. Which lecture he held for about seven years; and then left Oxford, and went to Worcester first, and after that to Lemster in Herefordshire; at both which places he made himself very popular by his preaching. But having no preferment bestowed upon him, as some will have it, suitable to his merit, it is thought he became uneasy to see himself so much neglected: and thence made himself to be suspected as a person inclined to the puritans; or not so rightly affected at least to the church established, as by his education he ought to have been. Which suspicion increased more and more concerning him, as the faction against church and state grew stronger: and having acquired no small reputation in the place where he lived, for a more power- 1676.

An account of this new animadverter and his character.

1676. ful way of preaching than ordinary, as all prospect of advancement in the church was now taken from him, he was the more disposed to follow the stream of the times, and the growing interest of a party, pretending to a greater purity of reformation, both in faith, and worship, and manners; and more especially, since by such as these, he was chiefly crowded after and applauded. It was about the year 1630, that he began to be famous in the city of Worcester, and in 1641, he had the living of All-Saints in Bristol given him by Fiennes, who managed that city for the parliament, where he continued till 1643, when the city was surrendered to the king's party; sowing in that time the seeds of some of those opinions wherewith that city so abounded when Mr. Bull first came into the neighbourhood of it. Afterwards going to London, he became *Master* of the *Temple*; where he preached against the antinomians, as he says in his epistle dedicatory before his *Animadversions* upon the *Harmonia*, with a design to shew how their errors did proceed from a *misunderstanding* of the doctrine of the justification of a sinner. He continued in this place about four years, when he was supplanted by one Johnson. After this he went to Bewdley in Worcestershire, at which time Mr. Baxter was minister of Kidderminster, another market town, about three miles distant from that place, being very much followed. They preached against one another's doctrines, and published books against each other. Tombes was the head of the anabaptists, and Baxter of the presbyterians: the victory, as it is usual, was claimed by both sides: but some of the learned, who were affected to neither of them, yielded the advantage both of learning and

argument to the former, while yet they were as far from approving his cause, as even Mr. Baxter himself could be. Certain it is, that his doctrine did spread mightily in a little time, a considerable number both of presbyterians and independents being brought over by him. In 1653, being in London, he was appointed one of the triers of public ministers. About the same time he got likewise the parsonage of Rosse, and the mastership of the hospital in Ledbury, both in Herefordshire; which he kept with Lemster and Bewdley. At the restoration of king Charles the Second, when he saw and considered to what a woful condition this poor kingdom had been brought, under the pretext of religion and liberty, by restless spirits, being willing to take this for a providential determination, he quietly and readily submitted himself to the royal party, and resolved to live peaceably for the future, under the *legal* establishment of the church, by conforming himself to it as a lay-communicant: but would never accept either benefice or dignity, which was offered him. And to justify his conformity, and to excite others to follow his example, he writ a book, called *Theodulia*, or *A just Defence of hearing the Sermons and other Teaching of the present Ministers of the Church of England; against a Book, unjustly entitled*, (in Greek,) *A Christian Testimony against them that serve the Image of the Beast.* Lond. 1667. Nevertheless, he continued in his judgment as much an anti-pædobaptist as ever. The Oxford biographer, who is never to be suspected of partiality for any persons puritanically inclined, saith of him, "That, set aside his anabaptistical positions, he was "conformable enough to the church, would fre- 1676.

1676. "quently go to common prayer, and receive the sa-
"crament at Salisbury, and often visit Dr. Ward, bi-
"shop of that place, who respected him for his
"learning." And the abridger of Mr. Baxter's life, notwithstanding that he created Mr. Baxter the most trouble of any, or all his adversaries, yet representeth him under the character of one, whom all the world must own "to have been a very consider-
"able man, and an excellent scholar, how disinclined
"soever they may be to his particular opinions." The most learned and judicious bishop Sanderson had a great esteem for him; as had also one of his successors, bishop Barlow. It was his good fortune to marry a rich widow in Salisbury, not long before the king's return; by whom enjoying an estate, he lived chiefly there till his death, which happened at that place in 1676, aged 73 years.

The charge of Dr. Lewis du Moulin, brought against Mr. Bull and his principles.

XLVII. In the year 1680, Dr. Lewis du Moulin, son of the famous Peter du Moulin, a violent independent, came forth with a virulent pamphlet against the Church of England, called *A short and true Account of the several* Advances the Church of England *hath made* towards Rome: *or a Model of the Grounds, upon which the Papists, for these hundred Years, have built their Hopes and Expectations, that England would ere long return to* Popery, Lond. 1680, 4to. In which pamphlet, he falleth hard upon the principles and opinions advanced by Mr. Bull, and other eminent divines of the Church of England, especially Dr. Stillingfleet, afterwards bishop of Worcester, and Dr. Patrick, afterwards bishop of Ely: and greatly commendeth the industry and zeal of Dr. Tully and Dr. Barlow at Oxford, as

the two principal persons, who did keep that university from being *poisoned with Pelagianism, Socinianism,* and *Popery.* This was despised as it deserved by Mr. Bull. But soon after, there came out an answer to this book, with the title of, *A lively picture of Lewis du Moulin, drawn by the incomparable hand of Mr. Daillé.* And Dr. du Moulin not long surviving after this retracted upon his deathbed all the *personal reflections,* which in his book he had made upon any divine of the Church of England, and ordered this his retractation to be made public after his death. Which was accordingly published under this title, viz. *The last Words of Dr. Lewis du Moulin, being his Retractation of all the personal Reflections he had made on the Divines of the Church of England, in several of his Books:* signed by himself, on the 5th and 17th of October, 1680, London. Nevertheless, without the knowledge of his wife or other relations, (as is said,) there was published after his death a continuation of the aforesaid libel, entitled, *An additional Account of the Church of England's Advances towards Popery.* For it seems, that the *solifidian* doctrine was by a great many looked on as the main pillar of the protestant religion, which being once shaken, they thought there could be no possibility for it to bear up its head against popery, or to justify the proceedings of Luther, and the other first reformers. This was plainly insinuated in several books about this time published; and none stood more exposed to this censure than the treatises of our author, which continuing to prevail more and more, it is no wonder some angry books were written by the hot Calvinists, tending to create a suspicion of the clergy and uni- 1676.

1676. versities of this kingdom, as if they were advancing apace to Rome, while they were for paying a greater deference to the first writers of Christianity, than to any of the sixteenth century whatsoever. Mr. Bull was looked upon to have mainly contributed to infect the university of Oxford, by his writings, with such doctrines: but he had so fully, yea so abundantly vindicated himself, by his learned and judicious Apology against Dr. Tully, that nothing could be more unfair, than an accusation of such a nature as this, after he had been so well justified from it [p].

The conclusion of this controversy, that related to Mr. Bull's *Harmonia Apostolica*.

Thus I have endeavoured to present the reader with an impartial account of this whole controversy concerning justification, as it was managed betwixt Mr. Bull and his learned adversaries: wherein I have recited matters and arguments on both sides as an historian, and have not willingly concealed any thing which might make for them or against him. This hath insensibly drawn me out, by the great variety of incidents, much further than ever I could have imagined at first. But if hereby the truth shall appear, to indifferent and unprejudiced persons, to be set in its just light, it will be satisfaction enough for the pains that have been taken, to make such a thorough search as was necessary, in order to this. The schemes of the several writers have been for this end here represented; the grounds, occasion, and method of their writing, historically related; an ab-

[p] [The *Harmonia* was also attacked by M. de Marets, a Frenchman, in his *Systema Theologiæ*, printed at Groningen, in which he says, "that the author, (Bull,) though a professed priest of "the Church of England, was more addicted to the Papists, Re"monstrants, and Socinians, than to the orthodox party." *Wood.*]

iven also of the most considerable of their 1676.
hether from Scripture, reason, or antiquity,
ne account of their persons and characters.
ıs in a manner necessary, that a clear and
r might be had at once of so intricate a dis-
ıout these arduous points: and that the sa-
nd solidity of Mr. Bull might more conspi-
be displayed, by allowing to his enemies all
antage that could fairly be done; and that
ncible strength of reasoning, wherewith the
truth had endowed him, might break forth
ıre lustre, through the many and fierce oppo-
which for a time were made against him.
names of Gataker, Truman, and Tully, have
unsuccessful attacks served but to render
BULL the more celebrated. And as to this
nadverter, forasmuch as his principles were,
ıis head, the same as those with Dr. Tully,
ıod with that of Gataker, and his arguments
ɔse of one or the other of these; and foras-
s Mr. Bull did not think his book consider-
ıugh to deserve any answer, after he had so
ɔlied to the other two; there was no need to
all upon what was urged by him over again.
ılso pass over what several excellent writers,
inent preachers in our church, have taken
ı in their writing and preaching on the co-
ɔf the Gospel, and the methods of arriving at
happiness, from the rich treasury of our au-
ho seemeth indeed to have exhausted this
and shall proceed.

III. Now at the very same time that this The same controversy at this time
ɛrsy was agitated in the church, it was car-

1676. ried on also among the dissenters with no small warmth. By which means the state of the case became somewhat altered from what it would otherwise have been, had Mr. Bull alone been considered as principal in it. And there were three chief heads of difficulty in determining this matter, which mightily puzzled them, which side soever they took; namely, the reconciliation of divine prescience with the liberty of man's will in his conversion, and subsequent justification; the determination of the manner and measure of the operation of God's grace with and upon the human will; and the way how to attribute all our good to God, and all our evil to ourselves. Mr. Baxter and Mr. Truman, who went both the same way, thought they were able easily to solve these difficulties by the help of their method: but others of the dissenting ministers would by no means subscribe to what was advanced by these; and thought the difficulties still to remain as great as they were at first. And there was a book of *Aphorisms*, written by Mr. Baxter, which made as much stir among them, as the *Harmonia*, written by Mr. Bull, did among us: wherefore the name of *Aphorista* is always given to the first of these, as well as that of *Harmonista* to the second, by Dr. Tully, in his censure of both these writers. The *Aphorisms* of Mr. Baxter had been excepted against, at their first coming out, by several learned men: they were answered by Mr. John Crandon of Fowley in Hampshire, in a book which he inscribed, *Mr. Baxter's Aphorisms exorcised*[q]; and by Mr. William Eyre of Salisbury, in his *Vindiciæ Justifi-*

carried on also among *dissenters.*

[q] [Published in 1654.]

cationis Gratuitæ[r]. Besides which, they were occasionally animadverted upon by Dr. John Wallis, Mr. George Lawson, Mr. John Warren, Mr. Christopher Cartwright, and lastly, by Dr. Thomas Tully. Some of these wrote, upon the motion and desire of the author himself; upon which he published his suspension of these Aphorisms; then his fuller explication and defence of them, in his *Apology*; and afterwards, an additional explication and defence of them, both in his *Confession of Faith*, and in his *Disputations of Justification*. Many papers passed between Mr. Cartwright and him, concerning these Aphorisms: which were also defended by him against the other animadverters, but more particularly against Crandon and Eyre, long before ever he was fallen upon, together with Mr. Bull, by Dr. Tully. This controversy was long afterwards kept up among the dissenters, some taking the part of Mr. Baxter, but others violently condemning him as a favourer of the *Socinian* principles, for the very same reason that Mr. Bull was suspected by some, even because he exerted himself in laying open the pernicious consequences of the *antinomian* scheme. 1676.

The case of Dr. Williams, among the dissenters, about the antinomian controversy.

Some time after this, Mr. Daniel Williams, now a doctor in divinity, and an eminent preacher and writer in this city, among the presbyterians, made himself famous for managing the controversy against the *antinomian* principles, when they were breaking in with great impetuosity among those of his persuasion; and who hath thereby been very serviceable, in reclaiming great numbers from their

[r] [In Latin and English, 1654.]

1676. absurd and false notions, concerning the Gospel of our Lord, and the terms of salvation, and bringing them to a right sense of the nature of his satisfaction, and our justification; even as Mr. Bull had done. Dr. Williams may be said to have succeeded Mr. Baxter in the management of these disputes, as he also incurred thereby the same hard censure from some of his own brethren, as if he were a maintainer of opinions *inconsistent with the doctrine of Christ's satisfaction*, and so had given up the cause to the *Socinians*. And as Mr. Bull and Mr. Baxter had before suffered in this cause, so it fell also to the lot of this last advocate for the truth to suffer in like manner; and as many as were of his judgment also, to be charged together with him, for abetting Pelagianism, Socinianism, and Arminianism.

The occasion that engaged him in this controversy.

The occasion now which engaged him in this controversy, after that it seemed to have been laid asleep, was this; Dr. Crisp's book, the fountain of all these errors, was by his son, Mr. Samuel Crisp, reprinted in or about the year 1690 [s], when the Socinian controversy was here very hotly agitated, with additions, and with the names of several of the presbyterian and independent ministers prefixed, as approving the same. By the means of this book, thus recommended and authorized, the poison of antinomianism soon spread, not only in the country, but infected this great city to that degree, that the

[s] [Tobias Crisp was a puritan, born in 1600, and died in 1642. He published fourteen sermons, with the title of *Christ alone exalted*, in 1643. His son published a book in 1691, called *Christ made Sin, evinced in Defence of his Father Dr. Tobias Crisp's Sermons.*]

more sober of the presbyterian ministers were scarce able to preach a sermon, wherein either hope was asserted by conditional promises, or the fear of sin was pressed by the divine threatenings, but they were immediately censured and condemned, as enemies of Christ and of free-grace; and especially were cried out against violently by many of the anabaptists and independents. Yea, one of them preaching at Pinner's-hall, that repentance was necessary to the remission of sins, that pulpit was soon filled with the hardest censures against the presbyterians. At the request of many of the ministers of that persuasion, Mr. Williams undertook therefore to confute that book, which was the chief source of this evil. This he did, first by a sermon at Pinner's-hall, and afterwards by a book called *Gospel Truths stated and vindicated:* wherein some of the more dangerous of Dr. Crisp's opinions were considered, and the opposite truths plainly stated and confirmed. 1676.

His method is, always to state the *truth* and the *error* upon each head, then to prove that this last was the opinion of Dr. Crisp; after that, to shew wherein the difference is *not;* and this being done, to declare what the *real* and proper difference is. And having thus explained and stated the case, by preventing several mistakes, and determining wherein the real difference consisteth between the contending parties, his way is, to confirm the truth opposed to such a particular error, by that which is owned on both sides for the rule of faith; then to produce corroborating testimonies from the approved catechisms and confessions both of the presbyterian and independent body, as of the general assembly

His method in this controversy.

1676. at Westminster, the New-England synod, and the congregational elders at the Savoy, besides those of such particular writers as are by them generally esteemed most orthodox; and lastly, to give the ground of the doctor's mistake. This he hath done in about twenty several points, with much plainness: and it cannot be made appear, after all, that his adversaries have been able to say, that he hath in any of them misrepresented Dr. Crisp's opinions, or mistaken his sense; there being no fairer method than that which he hath chosen.

This book was first published in May 1692, with the approbation of Dr. Bates, Mr. How, Mr. Alsop, Mr. Showers, and a dozen more of the dissenting ministers: and to the second edition of it, were added the names of double the number. After which came forth a third edition of the same, with other names; and a large postscript, for clearing sundry truths, added to it. But Dr. Chauncy, and others of that sort, wrote against that book, in vindication of Dr. Crisp, denying Gospel threatenings, with the rest. To all this, the reply of Mr. Williams, called *A Defence of Gospel Truth*, was, by the ablest judges, thought sufficient. Notwithstanding, Mr. Mather, another independent preacher, published a sermon about *justification*, wherein he asserted, that believers were as righteous as Christ himself; that the covenant of grace was not conditional: with other dangerous opinions of the like stamp. Him also this author answered, by a book called, *Man made Righteous;* wherein he treated of the Gospel-law, the mediating suretyship of Christ, his imputed righteousness how consistent with faith and repentance, as conditions of justification; sin-

cere persevering holiness and obedience, as conditions of consummate salvation, and this by the Gospel constitution. To this book none replied. 1676.

There was also a paper, signed by Mr. Griffith, and several others of the eminent independents, wherein they excepted against several passages in *Gospel Truth stated*, besides some general charges against the whole. Which paper was examined by the author, in his postscript to the third edition thereof, and all their objections fully considered. But whether any manner of answer was returned by them to this reply of his, I do not know; certain it is, that they were hard put to it. Hence Mr. Stephen Lob, who long after two editions of this book, had so acquitted it in print, as to adventure to tell the world, that there was no difference between Mr. Chauncy and Mr. Williams, when afterwards, for certain purposes, he turned an objector against it, thought fit to wave all the former exceptions of his brethren, in that paper contained, save one or two. So sensible was he, that the author of *Gospel Truth* had been too hastily charged by them, and that they would never be able to make good their objections: and therefore he thought it convenient and prudent to drop them all but the first and the last, which he judged more defensible than the rest, as being general charges, of not having always rightly stated truth and error, or rightly interpreted the Scriptures.

Mr. Lob starts a new controversy.

Mr. Lob then, though no direct *antinomian*, yet willing to uphold the independent party, endeavoured to save their reputation, by starting a new controversy about commutation of persons betwixt Christ and believers. His pretence was, that Mr.

1676. Williams must deny this, which by all the orthodox had been generally acknowledged, and hardly by any disliked, but by the Socinians, and other heretics near akin to them; because he had denied what Crisp called, a change of *person*, (not *persons*, in the plural,) that is, a change of condition and state between Christ and a sinner; Christ thereby becoming as sinful as we, and we as righteous as he. And he alleged, that Dr. Stillingfleet, the bishop of Worcester, had, in his most learned and judicious *Discourse, concerning the doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction*, with Grotius, expressly affirmed a commutation of persons, and irrefragably proved it with the common sentiment of protestants.

Mr. Williams writes to bishop Stillingfleet.

Upon which a letter was sent by Mr. Williams to the bishop, desiring his judgment as to these three questions; 1. What was his sense of commutation of persons? 2. Whether the author of *Gospel Truth stated* was chargeable with Socinianism? And, 3. Whether Dr. Crisp's sense, concerning the *change of person*, or persons, were true or false? His answer to which he therefore insisted on, because his lordship's book was pleaded against him. After this, Mr. Lob wrote to the bishop, acquainting him, that there having been a controversy among the dissenters, about the doctrine of Christ's satisfaction, some of the most eminent among them, such as Dr. Bates, Mr. How, &c. did, in a paper sent to some other brethren for reconciliation, mention his lordship's sense about the asserting a commutation of persons between Christ and believers, as necessary to a due explanation and defence of the said doctrine: and there being, on the other hand, another person of esteem among them [meaning

Mr. Williams] who was for casting off the phrase, of *a change of person* between Christ and us, and for allowing only a change of persons, in the sense understood by his lordship, namely, a substitution in the room and place of another; his lordship's judgment being therefore referred unto, it would be in him a most Christian part, if he would condescend to give them his impartial thoughts of this point, *as being likely, on both hands, to be so received, as to compose the differences between them.* 1676.

The bishop answers Mr. Williams.

But before this letter came to the bishop, he had already answered Mr. Williams, as to the three questions proposed, and had with great freedom and impartiality, as well as with singular candour and judgment, after he had perused the papers on both sides which came to his hands, given his sense of the things which are mentioned in both their letters. This letter of the bishop's, whereby Mr. Williams was fully vindicated, was printed for his justification against Mr. Lob, in his *Answer to the Report*, &c. *which the united ministers appointed their committee to draw up.* And Mr. Lob could not but declare himself, upon reading it, to be abundantly satisfied with what the bishop had writ in his letter to Mr. Williams, about a commutation of persons, the guilt of sin, and his confutation of Dr. Crisp; only he wished the bishop's information had been more full. The bishop having answered Mr. Lob's first letter, and therein justified again Mr. Williams from the heavy imputations against him, and expressed his sincere and hearty endeavours for preventing all needless as well as dangerous controversies, among those who did truly own the doctrine

1676. of Christ's satisfaction, Mr. Lob replied to him in a second letter, thanking him for the favour of his answer, and informing him of an *appeal* directed to his lordship, which he was preparing for the press.

An appeal made to the late bishop of Worcester by Mr. Lob.

The design of which appeal was, that the bishop might have a fuller state of matters in controversy among them, and so might be more able to put an end to their differences, in a point so perfectly studied by him. The bishop was therefore made acquainted by Mr. Lob, that some sheets of his were almost ready for the press, giving the true reasons of the dissatisfaction of some among them with Mr. Williams, which were intended by way of appeal, to be addressed to him; because he had so truly stated their true sense about Christ's satisfaction: withal begging to know his lordship's pleasure, whether he should send it to him first in manuscript, or not till printed. The bishop answered Mr. Lob's second letter without any delay, telling him, that he should be glad to see the papers he made mention of when they should be printed, but that he would not have him give himself the trouble to send them before; for since they related to matters of fact, he could be no competent judge of them. And as to the wishing he had received fuller information of some matters, the bishop told him, it was a thing out of his power; and that he could only judge of what he had seen. At the same time the bishop justified Mr. Williams afresh, as to his orthodoxy in the controverted points; and declaring himself very well pleased, to find that Mr. Lob did disown Dr. Crisp's antinomian principles, he gave both him and his brethren to understand, that they would do them-

selves a great deal of right, *to condemn the propositions which they insist upon.* As soon therefore as Mr. Lob had printed his appeal, he sent it to the bishop of Worcester, to be by him considered, complimenting him in the beginning of it with his thanks, not only for what related to the article of *satisfaction*, but for his confutation of Dr. Crisp, and intimating, that whereas the bishop had suspected a fondness for that doctor's notions lay at the bottom of all these heats, *the condemning the propositions by his brethren*, (as was propounded by the bishop,) *would evince the contrary.* But then this was deferred, till satisfaction should be given them, as to what Mr. Williams was charged with. 1676.

The appeal considered by the bishop.

This printed appeal of Mr. Lob was considered by that great and learned prelate with an amazing exactness, as one who was a perfect master of the cause; but he lived not to finish his answer to it, which he undertook, being invited both by the appeal and by those letters, in order to compose those differences among the united and dissenting brethren which related to the Antinomian and Socinian controversies. However, he hath given the world a true state of both these controversies, in perfect agreement with the principles advanced and defended by our Mr. Bull, as well as the true occasion of the late differences among the dissenters about these. Then he hath so laid open the mystery of *antinomianism*, from the writings of Dr. Crisp, as if he had studied these for several years together. Moreover, he hath so explained the state of the Socinian controversy, with respect to the differences at that time of the dissenters about it, for which he

1676. was appealed to; and hath so fully vindicated both Mr. Baxter and Mr. Williams from the charge of yielding too much to the Socinians; as that reader must be very partial indeed, who will not own that he hath done justice to the cause which was referred to him, and set matters in a much clearer light than ever they were before in. Now Mr. Lob had expressed a very great earnestness to have the bishop's judgment; *because* (he said) *some were labouring to make Christ's sufferings so merely voluntary, as not to be penal, or not properly penal, but improperly and materially so, and our sins as not to be the* impulsive meritorious *cause of them.* The bishop therefore, in answer to him, hath treated distinctly and clearly about Christ's sufferings, being a proper punishment for our sins, and about the change of persons between Christ and us, and his suffering in our stead.

The questions proposed to bishop Stillingfleet were sent to Dr. Jonathan Edwards likewise.

The same questions, that had been sent to the late bishop of Worcester, were likewise sent Dr. Jonathan Edwards, the late learned and worthy principal of Jesus college in Oxford; because Mr. Lob, in his remarks, pretended that Mr. Williams's opinion, concerning a commutation of persons, was by him condemned, in his *Preservative against Socinianism.* Whereupon Dr. Edwards, in a letter to the said Mr. Williams, justified him also against his accusers; fully acquitting him from giving any countenance to the errors of Socinus; and telling him, that he had very rightly, and in an orthodox manner, stated the doctrine of Christ's satisfaction; and that as to the doctrine of Dr. Crisp, and others of that sect, concerning the permutation of person between Christ and the sinner, he could not but

look upon it to be, " not only false, absurd, and im- 1676.
" possible, but also an impious and blasphemous
" opinion, as being highly dishonourable to our Sa-
" viour, repugnant to the wisdom and justice of
" God, and tending plainly to subvert the whole
" design of Christianity." So that it was impossible for any one to be more fully vindicated than Mr. Williams was, against the charge of his adversaries, by these two eminent divines of our church; to whose writings and persons an appeal had been laid in from his zealous accuser. The bishop abundantly acquitted him, and condemned the proceedings against him as *hard* and *unreasonable:* the good doctor, who had made himself famous for writing against the errors of Socinus, honourably discharged him in like manner from the imputation of *Socinianism*, by declaring to him, *I mean no more than what you affirm.*

A further account of the state of this affair.

Thus the new impression of Crisp's Sermons, with *twelve names in great letters appearing in the beginning of the book*, to honour it, having awakened some of the more zealous among them, called the *United Brethren*, to consider of some proper expedient to obviate the growth of those errors, the revival whereof they concluded would make their *ministry useless*, and unity impossible; this controversy, which had been before so fully and unanswerably determined, by the excellent writings of our author, especially in his answer to Gataker, broke out afresh with the utmost violence, but not in the church. For the whole was carried on among the dissenters only, till this reference was made, when they began to be weary of disputing, as seeing no end thereof; and bishop Stillingfleet thereupon took

1676. the cause into his own hands, and upon a full examination of both parties settled the just bounds between the Antinomian and Socinian extremes, so far as these related to the differences on foot among them; which was the occasion of the *second part* of his *Discourse concerning the Doctrine of Christ's Satisfaction*; which he left the Christian church for his legacy of peace. So Dr. Crisp's book was that which awakened this whole controversy, by its being published in such a manner; and was the occasion of Mr. Williams's examination of his opinions, to which he was solicited and encouraged by several of his brethren; whose attestation to his book, was not merely to the right stating of truths and errors therein, but as *a considerable service to the church of Christ*, and as *a means for the reclaiming of those, who have been misled into such dangerous opinions, and for the establishing any that waver in any of these truths.* But upon the coming forth of this book it was observed, that such a furious zeal against the author and his book broke out, as had almost overset the *united brethren* with their *union*. For in October following, a paper was delivered in to the said brethren, subscribed by six dissenting ministers, importing an high and heavy charge against the author and his work: but the objections were looked upon either as frivolous or groundless, and some of the citations to be *quite contrary to the letter of his expressions*, pretended to be cited, and so not deserving to be taken notice of.

Notwithstanding which, Dr. Chauncy, one of the subscribers, in a meeting of the united ministers, declared that he would break off from their union,

because they had taken no cognizance of the paper of objections against Mr. Williams's book. Some considerable time after this, when other ways had been found unsuccessful, a person was appointed more narrowly to examine Mr. Williams's books, and to collect out of them what errors he could discover; and accordingly another paper of objections was drawn up against him: and whereas in the former paper there was not one word tending to the charge of Socinianism, upon this fresh examination, that was now thought fit to be added to the weight of the other exceptions against him; and was wisely put into the hands of such a person to manage, *who could not be suspected for antinomianism;* he having not only refused to set his name to the new impression of Dr. Crisp's Sermons, because it looked, as he said, like giving too much countenance to the notions in them, but had written also against some of them with great indignation, and rebuked severely such as seemed *to trim in favour of antinomianism.* But these papers were replied to by Mr. Williams; yet, notwithstanding all he could say or write for himself, the charge of Socinianism was carried on against him with no small vehemence. He solemnly protested, "[t] That he owned "Christ's *eternal generation* as the Son of God, "and of *one essence* with the Father; that he be- "lieved the doctrine of satisfaction by the sufferings "of Christ *in our stead,* and that his sufferings "were *punishments satisfactory* to divine justice "for *our* sins; that Christ was a *proper sacrifice,* "and himself the *priest,* that offered it upon earth; 1676.

[t] Mr. Williams's Answer to Mr. H.'s Letter, p. 7.

1676. "that his obedience is properly meritorious of all "our saving benefits, and himself a proper Ἀντίψυχος "in his death." All this was not sufficient to clear him: it was urged, he used some phrases and expressions as the Socinians did, and that perhaps he might be a Socinian and not know it, and more to the same purpose. But all the objections of this nature are demonstratively answered by that most learned prelate, to whom the matter was on both sides referred.

How this controversy was composed.

When Mr. Lob and his brethren now found they could not gain their point, but that his party became suspected of Dr. Crisp's errors, by that time much exploded through the prevailing of the opposite truths, they thought fit to draw up a sort of confession, wherein they cleared themselves of the most dangerous of Crisp's opinions, according to the repeated advice of the late bishop of Worcester, though not so fully and clearly as he had proposed: and Mr. Lob being now better reconciled desired Mr. Williams to put the best sense on that confession, that so a period might be set to these debates; Mr. Williams readily consented, and wrote thereupon, and printed a few sheets, called *An End of Discord*; wherein he stated the orthodox, as also the Socinian and Antinomian notions, as to Christ's satisfaction; and represented the confession of those more sober independents as orthodox, as their words with the most charitable construction could bear. Thus ended then this controversy among the dissenters.

The success that followed hereupon.

The number of antinomians among the dissenters were so reduced, at length, by the methods which had been taken, that I am creditably informed by a considerable man, who cannot but know the state of

this affair, that there are not now left above three or four preachers of that sort, (at least known to him,) and those of no esteem. So that men, he saith, can without clamour now publish the truth: yea, and most of the independents and anabaptists in this city, especially the last, do preach, as I am informed, against antinomianism. Which great change for the better is to be ascribed in a great measure, under God, to the indefatigable and zealous pains of Dr. Williams, for promoting the truths of the Gospel, concerning *Christ's satisfaction* and our *justification*, according as they are both most solidly stated and explained, first by our excellent [u] author, and then by bishop Stillingfleet; not without a particular respect to the true sense and false notion of commutation of persons, which was the cause of so great discord. As he hath been among the dissenters an instrument for putting a stop to those pernicious errors, and as his conviction that the essentials of Christianity were struck at by his opposers, together with the aptitude of an evangelical ministry, for promoting practical holiness; (which appear to have been the motives principally inclining him to contend with a strong party, who would leave nothing unattempted to crush him if possible;) his name, I think, ought to be mentioned with respect, and this short account of the controversy, wherein he was engaged for many years, is but a piece of justice that is due to him, for the good service he hath done in the cause of truth. It is almost incredible how much he was a sufferer, *in* and *for* the defence of it, from some who were too apt to *act* 1676.

[u] Examen Censuræ, Resp. ad Animad. xi. Apol. sect. vi.

1676. *their principles* against such as opposed them. But he *had counted the cost*, as he writeth in a letter to me, *even though his life had been sacrificed.* And indeed his good name, which to many is more precious than life itself, was attacked hereupon in the most desperate manner; though it did but all tend to his fuller justification before all good men, and his greater triumph over his adversaries. For after about eight weeks spent in an inquiry into his life by a committee of the united ministers, which received all manner of complaints and accusations against him, it was declared at a general meeting, as their *unanimous opinion*, and repeated and agreed to in three several meetings successively, that he was [x] *entirely clear and innocent of all that was laid to his charge.* Thus both his *book* and his *person* were vindicated in the amplest form, after the strictest examination that could be made; and his and the truth's adversaries put to silence. But to return to Mr. Bull.

Mr. Bull made prebendary of Gloucester by the earl of Nottingham.

XLIX. Upon the publication of the *Harmonia Apostolica*, Mr. Bull's reputation, which was before confined to the narrow bounds of his own neighbourhood, began to extend itself among the learned, not only in this kingdom, but in foreign parts. Some prejudices indeed at first were raised against him by his adversaries, who attacked him with great vehemency, and some great men were made to believe, that through want of orthodoxy he was not fit to be preferred. But when he made his answers to those objections, which were prest upon him; and

[x] Postscript to Gospel Truth, p. 301—308.

published his *Examen Censuræ*, and his apology for himself, and the treatise he had wrote; the world quickly saw how little he deserved the calumnies which were thrown upon him, and he began to shine the brighter for having been under some eclipse. And this was farther confirmed by those who were in the sentiments of his adversaries, (for they were dead themselves,) who were silenced by what he offered in his own defence, and never pretended to make any reply. 1676.

The knowledge of his character, thus cleared by his own nervous pen, quickly reached the then lord chancellor, who having been made lord keeper of the great seal in 1673, was shortly after that advanced to the degree of a baron of this realm, by the title of lord Finch of Daventry, and in 1675 was made lord high chancellor of England; and farther in testimony of his many faithful services, which his lordship had rendered the crown, he was in 1681 created earl of Nottingham. His lordship was justly esteemed the great oracle of the law in his time, and so perfect a master in the art of speaking, that he passed for the English Cicero; yet his great understanding, his eloquent tongue, and his titles of honour, did not give his name so lasting a lustre, as that piety and virtue wherewith he adorned his high station, which is but too often starved in so rich a soil, and thriveth best in a private life.

The earl of Nottingham's method of bestowing his preferments.

Among the many very commendable qualities of this great man, his zeal for the welfare of the Church of England was not the least conspicuous; which particularly shewed itself in the care he took in disposing of those ecclesiastical preferments, which were in the gift of the seal. He

1676. judged rightly in looking upon that privilege as a trust for the good of the Church of God, of which he was to give a strict account; and therefore being sensible that the several duties of his great post, as first minister of state, as lord chancellor, and as speaker of the house of lords, would not allow his lordship time and leisure to make that inquiry which was necessary to know the characters of such as were candidates for preferment, he devolved this particular province upon his chaplain, whose conscience he charged with an impartial scrutiny in this matter; adding withal, that he would prefer none but those who came recommended from him; and that if he led him wrong, the blame should fall upon his own soul.

The present archbishop of York then his chaplain.

It is true, that this was a great testimony of my lord's entire confidence in the uprightness as well as the capacity of his chaplain; but the world will quickly be satisfied with what caution and judgment his lordship took his measures, when they shall know, that his then chaplain was Dr. Sharp, the present lord archbishop of York, who fills one of the archiepiscopal thrones of the Church of England, with that universal applause, which is due to his grace's distinguishing merit; whose elevation hath not deprived him of his humility, but he exerciseth the same affability and courtesy towards all men, which he practised in a lower sphere. And that learning and piety, that integrity and zeal for the glory of God, which influence his grace in the government of his diocese and of his province, were peculiarly serviceable to the earl of Nottingham, in the charge his lordship laid upon him with so much solemnity. From a lord chancellor so well disposed to secure the

welfare of the church, by preferring men of unblemished characters, and who was blest with a chaplain, faithful and discerning to distinguish them, Mr. Bull received a prebend in the church of Gloucester, in which he was installed the 9th of October, 1678[y]. And as a testimony of his gratitude, he designed a public acknowledgment of his lordship's favour, in dedicating to him his *Fidei Nicenæ Defensio*, which was the next book he published; but before it appeared, this great man died, in whom the church lost a faithful and zealous friend, and learning and piety a generous and constant patron. 1676. 1678.

L. In the year 1680, Mr. Bull finished his *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, whereof he had given an hint five years before in his *Apology*; which excited the curiosity of several learned men, to desire that he would put his last hand to a work so very useful and necessary, as this did appear to them. For having been obliged to clear himself from the charge of Socinianism, which had been brought against him without any ground to support it, he was under a sort of necessity of declaring, "how he had been for "some time before drawing up certain *Historico-* "*Ecclesiastical Theses*, concerning the *Godhead* "of the *Son*, wherein he trusted, that he had plainly "demonstrated both the *consubstantiality* and the 1680. Mr. Bull finishes his Defence of the Nicene Faith.

[y] [Wood says, that he owed this preferment to "the endeavour "of Dr. John Tillotson:" and Birch, in his Life of Tillotson, p. 53. finds fault with Nelson for omitting this fact. But since Nelson was an intimate friend of Tillotson at this time, may he not have asked him to use his interest in favour of Bull, and therefore have passed over the circumstance, as not liking to mention himself?]

1680. "*coeternity* of the Son of God, from the consent of "the ancient doctors of the church, who lived before "the council of Nice, with the Nicene Fathers, by "a tradition derived from the very apostolical age "itself."

Arian and Socinian writers in Holland spread their heresies here.

Now about the same time, and for some years before, there were several Arian and Socinian pieces published in Holland, and dispersed in England, written by some learned men, that were fled thither out of Prussia and Poland, who had fallen into one of those schemes, and presumed themselves able to maintain one and the other of them, against the received catholic doctrine. And though the Socinians indeed were generally for having the controversy decided by Scripture and reason only, without regarding the testimony of the most ancient Christian writers; yet the Arians were herein of another mind; and had some disputations with the Socinians in Holland upon their singular tenets, condemning them for condemning the use of the primitive Fathers; and making a very high boast of *these*, as if almost all of them, who lived before the first council of Nice, were of their party and sentiment.

A fault observed in some learned orthodox writers, and the reasonableness of this treatise.

Some learned men also, who had undertaken to defend the doctrine of the Trinity, while they owned the meaning of the primitive Fathers to be generally most sound and orthodox as to this point, but confessed their expressions not to be so very cautious and exact before, as after, the said council, did give an occasion thence for the adversaries to triumph, as if the cause were therefore presently their own. So that nothing in the world could be more seasonable at this time, than such a treatise, to put some check to the exceeding confidence of some certain writers,

and to vindicate the ancient truths of Christianity so violently attacked. Upon these considerations Mr. Bull thought that he could not better employ his labour, especially at his leisure hours, than in this most important work for the service of the church: but he complained, that both through the ill state of his health, and through the great variety of other cares and business lying upon his hands, he had not been able to perfect it for the press as he had designed, when he printed his reply to Dr. Tully; neither could he for some years afterwards, meeting with continual obstacles and impediments. 1680.

How the treatise; when fitted for the press, was in danger of being utterly stifled.

But his friends not failing to challenge the performance of what he had now so publicly mentioned, and representing to him withal what danger there was in letting some books of Sandius[z], which did openly defend the Arian to be the true catholic doctrine, and that by the tradition of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, pass among young students of divinity without a proper antidote; Mr. Bull with great earnestness resumed the work, read over all those Fathers again, and finished it as now it is. After which he offered the copy to a bookseller, and he refusing it, to another, and after him to a third; and none being found willing to undertake the impression, or to venture the charge of it, he brought it home, and laid the thoughts of printing it wholly aside. For being but in low circumstances, and having a large family of children to support, it was not possible for him to furnish out the expense himself for printing, as he was inclinable enough to have done had he been able. And so this excellent book

[z] [Particularly the *Nucleus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, 1669.]

1680. might have lain buried for ever, and never so much as once been heard of after this, had not a certain worthy friend of the author's, some few years after, advised him to put his neglected copy into the hands of Dr. Jane, the regius professor then of divinity, in the university of Oxford, and to submit the same to his censure and disposal.

By what means it came to be encouraged by bishop Fell.

Accordingly Mr. Bull took his papers, he says, as it were *out of the grave*, and committed them to the *professor* to do with them as he should think fit. Who, having carefully read them over, was pleased, not only to declare his approbation of them, for the sake of the great learning therein contained, but also effectually to recommend this work, which had afforded him so much satisfaction, to the favour and patronage of that great promoter of learning and piety, bishop Fell. This great and good prelate, being not a little glad to hear that the holy catholic faith, in the most fundamental point of it, was so learnedly defended against some modern pretenders to antiquity, was presently for encouraging the printing of it, for a general benefit; nor had he need of solicitation, to print a book of this nature at his own expense, which so highly tended, as he was fully persuaded, to vindicate the honour of our blessed Lord, and the veracity of his faithful witnesses in the earliest ages of Christianity.

1685. And printed at the theatre in Oxford.

Thus, in the year 1685, there was published from the theatre in Oxford, the bishop thereof taking upon him the charge of the impression, this most noble defence of the *Nicene Faith*, out of the writings of the catholic doctors, who flourished within the three first centuries of the Christian church: wherein also the *Constantinopolitan Confession*,

concerning the *Holy Ghost*, is incidently confirmed by the testimonies likewise of the ancients. For whereas in the ancient creeds and formularies of faith, the deity of the *Son* is principally and more largely declared, but that of the *Holy Ghost* is for the most part only hinted at, and in a few words, the learned author made it his chief care in this treatise, to defend *that* rather than *this*; as considering, that if he could beget and confirm in his readers the true faith concerning the *Son of God*, they might with ease then be brought to receive and continue in a right confession concerning the *Spirit of God*. 1685.

What Petavius had written on this subject both suspected by *catholics*, and challenged by *Arians*.

LI. The learned Petavius had been at prodigious pains indeed, in collecting all that the Christian writers have said, both before and after that council, upon this subject: but after all, this most laborious work of his was so far from giving satisfaction, or advancing much the cause for which he undertook to write, as, on the contrary, some even suspected the author to be himself all the while no better than a covert *Arian*, and to have written, even on purpose to betray the cause for which he appeared, than which nothing can be more false; as any one may soon convince himself, that will be but at the pains to examine what he hath written: wherefore the great reviver of Arianism in the last age, is by our author most deservedly exploded, for his most confident assertion, that it was impossible but Petavius must have been firmly in himself persuaded, that the Trinity of the *Arians*, and not that of the *Homoousians*, was an article of the catholic faith: notwithstanding on a double account he was carried to declare him-

1685. self, though against his mind, for the *Homoousians* rather than for the *Arians;* namely, that he might both escape all those mischiefs and persecutions which he had reason to fear from the church of Rome, in case it could have been proved against him, that he had revolted from her faith to embrace Arianism; and that also the *Arians* might be able thence to bring a better proof of their doctrine from a professed adversary, and to build even upon his ground their own superstructure; as that writer had endeavoured to do in his much boasted book of church history; which, by this very learned defence of the faith, as it was in the council of Nice declared and established, is most substantially confuted.

How far vindicated herein against Sandius, by Mr. Bull.

For though Petavius was a member of that society, which is most of all hated among us, and of whom nothing almost can be said so black, which will not presently be believed by vast numbers; yet Mr. Bull was not for taking any advantage of this popular odium, or for charging a person of his great character in the learned world with the most flagitious treachery, either from general prejudices against the order whereof he was a member, or from particular conjectures about his method of managing this controversy. On the contrary, he condemned Sandius for his rashness in passing so severe a censure, thinking his suspicion altogether groundless, and that it could proceed from nothing but an extreme partiality for his own sect.

His conjecture why Petavius lessened the authority of the Ante-Nicene Fathers.

If any conjecture may be allowed of in such a case, there is, I think, none more probable, than that which he hath advanced concerning this learned Jesuit; and this he did after a nice and thorough

examination of his work: it is, that Petavius must have consulted in it the cause of the pope, rather than of Arius, and the support of the present church of Rome, than of any one sect: for supposing that the catholic writers of the three first centuries were almost all of the same opinion, which was afterwards condemned in Arius for heresy, by the council of Nice; or that they writ after such a manner, as they might at least be thought to hold the same opinion which he did, by their loose way of expressing themselves: it will thence easily follow, as he hath truly [a] observed, that there is very little regard to be had to the Fathers of the three first ages, to whom the reformed catholics generally do appeal, if so be that the chief articles of the Christian faith were not yet sufficiently manifested: and also, that general councils have a power of making new articles of faith, or of *manifesting* and declaring them, as that writer would rather have it worded; and consequently that all the additions which have been tacked to the primitive faith, by the pretended general council of Trent, ought to be received without examining. Now Petavius, as well as some other great men of his order, may be suspected by the protestants, as having had some such bias as this in their writings, without much breach of charity. Mr. Bull, however, in opposing him, was very tender as to this charge against him, not determining any thing in the matter, but leaving it to be decided by the searcher of all hearts; and is not unwilling to think, that possibly he might have no design, by his writing with so little respect for 1685.

[a] Procem. §. 8.

1685. the authority of the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, to promote the interest either of Arianism or Popery; but that it proceeded purely from a certain boldness and rashness in censuring the ancients, which was familiar to him. But howsoever this might be, most certain it is, that the modern *Arians* found themselves not a little gratified by his labours; and the orthodox on the other hand complained, that he had wronged both the *Nicene* and *Ante-Nicene* Fathers.

How Petavius was succeeded in this controversy by Curcellæus.

LII. Now the very same thing which was charged upon Petavius, a popish, was unhappily likewise charged upon Curcellæus, a protestant writer: and it cannot be denied, but that the *Arians* made their advantage of both these learned authors, and endeavoured to persuade the world, that they were really of their side; howsoever, for prudential reasons, they might think fit to disguise a little their own sentiments. His preface to the works of Episcopius [b] made him first to be suspected, and Maresius [c], an hot Calvinist, and one who had also a personal pique against him, took thence occasion of accusing him publicly of heresy in the points of the Trinity and Incarnation. It is true, that Curcellæus [d] complained, that Maresius had injured him in a very unchristian manner, and that his accusation of him was

[b] [*Opera Theologica*, 1650 and 1665.]

[c] [*Joanna Papissa restituta, &c. cum brevi Refutatione Præfationis Apologeticæ Curcellæanæ*, 1658. and again, *Defensio Fidei Catholicæ adversus Steph. Curcellæum*, 1662.]

[d] Stephani Curcellæi Quaternio Dissertationum Theologicarum adversus Samuelem Maresium, Opus posthumum. Amstel. 1689.

utterly false and ungrounded: and Maresius, in his *Anti-Trinus*, having frequently called him an *Antitrinitarian*, he made answer, that he was very far from deserving that name, forasmuch as he could be no Antitrinitarian, or enemy of the blessed Trinity, who acknowledged the doctrine thereof, as laid down in the holy Scriptures. He challenged his adversary to shew, that he had any ways deviated from the faith which was delivered by the apostles of Christ, or even from the explication thereof, by the most ancient and approved writers of the church: loudly asserting, that the orthodox doctrine concerning Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, was by him believed and maintained, according as it was revealed to the church; and that it was a gross falsehood and injustice therefore to pretend, that he was an adversary to it, or had expressed any manner of dislike to it by word or writing. He pleaded moreover his baptism in the common and catholic form with all Christians, and his solemn profession when grown up with the church universal, "That he believed in one "God, the *Father Almighty*, the Creator of heaven "and earth, and in his *only-begotten Son*, Jesus "Christ, in whom, besides the human nature, there "was also the divine nature, which not only existed "before his birth of the *Virgin Mary*, but even from "eternity; and in the Holy Ghost, who proceedeth "from the Father, and is sent by the Son." 1685.

This is the summary which he hath given us of his belief of the holy Trinity, and which he explaineth and defendeth by arguments and testimonies from antiquity; to which he was not such a stranger as his master Episcopius, having taken a

1685. great deal of pains to sift this matter as well as he could, and to run it up to the head. For though he every where declareth himself for sticking closely to none but the *Scripture account* of this article, and is for discarding thence the use of scholastical terms in this whole controversy; he is nevertheless busied much to prove, that his exposition thereof is conformable to that of the ancients, and no ways disagreeable to the true sense of those very terms, concerning the use whereof he had some scruples upon him.

Thus if you take his own account, there would be no man more orthodox and catholic than he is in the doctrine of the Trinity, as also in that of the incarnation of Christ. And he insisted, that both from the *pulpit* and from the *chair* he had always taught and vindicated that faith, into which he had been baptized, and which he had publicly professed in the congregation, according to the form generally received; and did even teach and vindicate the same at that very time, when the charge of *Antitrinitarianism* was brought against him. Yea, he expressed so great a zeal for the orthodox doctrine in this great fundamental, as he would seem forward to seal the truth thereof even with his blood, if, as he said, *God should vouchsafe him this honour*. Notwithstanding all this, it is notoriously known, and that from his own very apology, that he was no less an enemy to the first council of Nice than his master before him, if not more than he; that he was no friend at all to the use of the word *Trinity*; that he so explained himself concerning that mystery, as to assert no more than a *specifical unity* in the

divine persons; that he defended the cause of Valentinus Gentilis, beheaded at Bern in Switzerland[e], for Tritheism, maintaining his doctrine to have been the same with that of the primitive Fathers; particularly of Ignatius, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Athenagoras, Tertullian, and Clemens Alexandrinus; that he impeached the common (which he called the modern and scholastical) doctrine of the Trinity, for approaching so very near *Sabellianism*, as hardly to be distinguished from it, and charged it to be a thousand years younger than that which was taught by Christ and his apostles; that he exploded the *notion* of *consubstantiality*, in the sense in which it is now generally taken, when applied to the Father and Son, that he was very much afraid to have his mind perplexed with the *divine relations*, or with the manner of *generation* and *procession* in the Deity, or with modes of *subsistence* and *personalities*, or with *mutual consciousness*, and the like; and therefore was for discarding at once all such terms and phrases as are not *expressly legitimated* by the sacred writers; that he fully believed the Godhead of the Father to be more excellent than that of the Son, or of the Holy Ghost, even so far as to look upon this superiority as a thing unquestionable, and to appeal to the consentient testimony of the primitive church for evidence; and lastly, that he took care to recommend Petavius, and the author[f] of *Irenicum Irenicorum*, a learned physician at Dantzick, whom I shall have an occasion several times hereafter to mention, to the perusal of his readers, for the sake of that collection of testimonies which is to be found in them, as wherein they might 1685.

[e] [In 1566.]

[f] [Daniel Zuicker.]

1685. easily find *an account of the primitive faith*, concerning these great articles.

The different designs of Petavius and Curcellæus.

The design of Curcellæus was evidently different from that of Petavius: the one was to reconcile the differences about the mysteries of our religion, among the several sorts of Christians; the other was not to reconcile them, but to put an end to the controversy a shorter way, by endeavouring to shew the necessity of an absolute submission to authority, for the determining articles of faith: the one was to make the Scriptures the sole rule and standard for ecclesiastical communion in this great point; the other was to make the present church of Rome the sole arbiter and judge in this cause, and her decrees decisive, how little soever agreeing with the language of antiquity, and of the sacred writers themselves. But Mr. Bull was not satisfied at all with the design either of the one or of the other; forasmuch as he apprehended from them both the like dangerous consequences, and the same use to be made by the enemies of the catholic faith. He thought Episcopius and Curcellæus attributed too little, and Petavius, and others of his church, too much, to the power and authority of ecclesiastical synods, for the declaring of articles of faith.

A mistake of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, concerning Mr. Bull.

LIII. And it is hence plain, that the late bishop of Meaux, with whom I had the honour to be acquainted, and who is known to have had a particular esteem for our author, is mistaken, in supposing him to hold the *infallibility* of this council of Nice; for had the bishop but proved this once, all that Mr. Bull had written in defence of the faith there established would have been altogether superfluous.

He had, it is true, a very great regard for councils truly general, and in particular for the *Nicene* and the *Constantinopolitan*, not seeing any sufficient reason to object against their testimony: whence, allowing them to be competent witnesses of the faith and practice of the church at that time, as in the several parts of it acknowledged and received, he concluded, that the solemn attestation of above three hundred witnesses at once, must needs be more authoritative, than the single asseveration of here and there one occasionally, and perhaps not accurately expressing himself. For having in his *Proœmium* taken notice, that the matter treated of in this first general council was the capital article of the whole Christian religion; namely, the divinity of our Saviour's person, as whether he were truly God, or only a creature; he addeth, "If in a question of so vast importance as "this, we can imagine that all the governors of the "church could fall into error so prodigiously, and "deceive the people under them, how shall we be "able to vindicate the veracity of our blessed Lord, "promising to be with his apostles, and in them "with their successors to the end of the world? A "promise which could not be true, seeing the apo-"stles were not to live so long, unless their succes-"sors be here comprehended in the persons of the "apostles themselves." Which he afterwards confirmeth, by a passage out of Socrates [g] concerning some of the devout Fathers of this council, which saith, that *even the unlearned* [ἰδιῶται] *of the council were illuminated by God, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, so as they could not depart from the*

1685.

No argument for the *infallibility* of general councils, from the manner of his vindicating that of Nice.

[g] Lib. i. cap. 9.

1685. *truth*. Whereupon the late bishop of Meaux [h] reciting this and the former passage, doth triumph over his adversary not a little, whom he sendeth to be instructed by our author, in the infallibility of the council of Nice, in order to bring in that of Trent. For the bishop concluding it to be our author's opinion, that it was impossible for the Fathers of that council to fall into error, because they were enlightened with the light of God's Spirit, without attending as he ought to what went before, and to what followeth afterwards, which might have undeceived him, he inferreth, "Hence he [Mr. Bull] shews at "once the infallibility of general councils, both by "Scripture and by the tradition of the ancient "church: God bless (continueth he) the learned "Bull, and reward him for this sincere confession, "as also for the zeal which he hath made appear in "defending the Godhead of Jesus Christ: may he "be delivered from those prejudices which hinder "him from opening his eyes to the lights of the ca-"tholic church, and to the necessary consequences of "the truth by him confessed." Thus far the bishop.

A plain account of the truth of this matter, and the grounds for undertaking this vindication.

Now the plain truth of the matter is no more than this; the aforementioned author of the *Irenicum Irenicorum* had the confidence to call the *Nicene* Fathers, *Novæ fidei conditores*, and by such other names; and by a great number of passages collected out of the more ancient Fathers, had undertaken to make good his charge; Curcellæus, writing his *Quaternio* immediately after him, had therein declared

[h] Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes, liv. 15. §. 103. tom. ii. p. 593, 594.

that these testimonies did seem to him unanswerable, as to the preeminence at least of the Father above the Son; Sandius had gone yet much farther, labouring to heap up all the scandal that was possible against this council; and many others of inferior name, borrowing their weapons from these authors, had been pelting at it as hard as they could: all which our Mr. Bull knew not how to digest, he saith, but as often as he considered the incredibility that such a number of the pastors of this church, met together from all the parts of the world, where Christianity was planted, could in a matter of the *greatest moment*, even in the very *foundation* itself of Christian faith and worship, be either deceived or deceivers; or that Christ should not so far remember his promise, as by his Spirit to abide with the apostles and their successors to the end of the world, so as to guard them at least from laying another foundation than what he himself had laid; but reflecting hereupon, could not forbear expressing a sort of horror and indignation, for *their stupendous ignorance, or rather impious madness, who were not afraid furiously to rail at those venerable Fathers in public, as if they had either* maliciously *or* ignorantly *corrupted the catholic doctrine concerning* Christ, *which was taught by the apostles, and constantly professed in the church for three centuries, and had imposed a new faith upon the Christian world.* This was so very shocking to all pious ears, in the opinion of Mr. Bull, that he could not bear the thoughts of it with any patience; and thence he falleth sometimes into expressions, that to some will seem to have more of fire in them than they ought to have, when he is speaking of these men, whom he 1685.

1685. considereth as the professed adversaries to the dignity and prerogative of our Saviour, and who are treated accordingly by him every where as such. And whereas Sabinus the Macedonian had anciently attacked the credit of this council, by disparaging the Fathers that sate in it, for a company of rude and illiterate persons, who understood not what they came thither about; (though by the account which Eusebius hath given, we may be certain there were not wanting in it men of sense and capacity;) Mr. Bull thought it not amiss to answer Sabinus and his followers in the very words which the historian Socrates had done before; thereby implying, that notwithstanding they might be simple and plain persons, without much learning, yet they were never the worse witnesses for that, and especially since it was piously credible, that God would also readily assist their honest endeavours after the truth, and preserve them by his grace from falling into any pernicious mistake, wherein the whole church would necessarily be involved.

Full satisfaction given herein to the bishop of Meaux.

Neither did Mr. Bull say, that he was of the opinion of Socrates, but only did declare what he took to be his meaning, which yet doth not come up at all to that of the bishop of Meaux: and having told this, Mr. Bull then concludeth; "but if any be not wil-
" ling to admit this hypothesis, [of the illuminating
" grace of the Holy Spirit, assisting a council of bi-
" shops that is *truly universal* in the *necessary* ar-
" ticles of faith,] the argument of Socrates may be
" put into this form following; suppose the *Nicene*
" Fathers to have been never so ignorant and un-
" learned, yet the greatest part of them were pious
" men: and it is unreasonable to believe, that so

" many holy and approved men, being met together 1685.
" out of all parts of the Christian world, could
" wickedly conspire together to innovate the publicly
" received faith, in the very principal article of
" Christianity; it being not possible to suppose, that
" the simplest there could be so very ignorant, as not
" to understand the very first rudiments concerning
" the holy Trinity, which were wont to be delivered
" to the very catechumens, or not to know what
" they themselves had received concerning it from
" their predecessors." Since how defective soever they might be in any other part of knowledge, he concluded it impossible for them to be uninstructed in the first and most fundamental doctrine of their religion. This was then, and continued afterwards, to be the true sense of our author concerning *general councils*, and in particular concerning this of *Nice:* let the advocates of the church of Rome make the best of it they can. And if this be not thought a sufficient vindication, taken from the very book itself by the bishop appealed to, let the reader farther consider, that it is the whole scope of his most learned defence of the first general council, to shew, that the Fathers thereof did not err in the determination of the article by them examined; both because this their determination was supported by the more ancient testimonies of their predecessors, and because it was morally impossible for them, under their circumstances, to have erred therein; and much less for them to have conspired amongst themselves, to change and new model the faith, which had been universally received in all the churches. All which would have been perfectly needless, had he designed to prove the infallibility of this council; for this

1685. once proved, all the rest must have been a superfluous labour, and consequently his whole book would have been to no purpose. Nay, even supposing that he was fully of the opinion, that there is an infallible assistance of the Holy Spirit, which attendeth every council that is truly general, so as to keep them from erring in matters of faith, yet could he not, for this, be ever the nearer to the church of Rome, or to the communion of the Gallican bishop, as that church is at present limited by the council of Trent; since in the very same premonition he afterwards saith expressly, [1] *That the* Trent convention *is to be called by any other name, rather than by that of a* general council; and greatly complaineth of such Romish writers and advocates for the decrees thereof, as make no conscience of building up thereby there pseudo-catholic faith, upon the ruins of the truly catholic faith. Nothing in the world can be more express than this, especially all things being laid together. But if to any one this be not yet satisfactory, let him but for his farther information carefully read over his whole introduction, and our author's answer to the bishop of Meaux's queries, printed in the first volume of Dean Hickes's Controversial Letters.

The same attempt, as to some protestant writers.

LIV. Now it is no wonder that a bishop of the church of Rome, writing a *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*, should be very glad to take all advantages against a learned protestant, writing a defence of the faith which was synodically declared by a general council: but it may well de-

[1] Tridentina conventio quidvis potius quam Generale Concilium dicenda est. Procem. §. 8.

serve to be wondered at, that there should be any who pretend to receive the *faith*, and yet at the same time stick not to vilify the *council* wherein it was established, or rather more properly declared. Some such however among protestants there are. It is plain Episcopius was far from being a Socinian, as our author truly observeth, having expressly written against, and solidly overthrown, the fundamental article of Socinianism; and endeavoured from the testimony of Scripture to shew his orthodoxy in the doctrine of the blessed Trinity; but the defender of the Nicene *faith* is, it seems, more than a *little* displeased at him, for his coarse and most unhandsome treatment[k] of the Nicene Fathers: and the theological institutions of this learned remonstrant, being about that time generally in the hands of our students of divinity in both universities, as the best system of divinity that had appeared, Mr. Bull had reason to fear, that many by reading a book so well approved of might suck in thence a very mean opinion of those venerable Fathers; and not only of them, but of most or all of the primitive writers and witnesses, both preceding and succeeding them; and thought it incumbent upon him to wipe off the calumny which he saw cast upon them, at the same time that he defended the common faith, as by them delivered and explained. 1685.

This was the more necessary, because the remonstrant writers, among whom there were men of excellent learning and parts, had now acquired a considerable reputation in our universities, by the means

An advantage taken by Socinians and Arians from the writings of some learned remonstrants.

[k] Episcop. Instit. Theolog. lib. iv. cap. 34. Bull. Prœm. Defen. Fid. Nic. §. 5.

1685. of some great men among us: and therefore since Grotius, Episcopius, Curcellæus, and others of them, while they were willing to appear as orthodox as any in the article of our Saviour's deity, did yet let fall several things, which the adversaries thereof greedily catched up as making for them, Mr. Bull was much in the right to prepare an antidote against the lurking poison, which might secretly instil itself into the minds of unwary readers. This he hath done in his excellent *Defence of the Faith* of this council; and yet more in his *Judgment of the Catholic Church*, &c. as hereafter will be shewn. Of the first of these, which was written designedly and directly against Petavius the Jesuit, D. Zuicker a Socinian, and Sandius, or Sanden, an Arian, there are so many things to be said, should one set about the giving an exact state of the controversy, with respect to the different interests and views of these three learned men, as they are considered by this our very learned defender of the Nicene faith, that it is thought better to cut the matter short between them; leaving the critical examination of the whole to them that will take the pains to scrutinize the Jesuit by the Fathers, the Socinian by the Jesuit, the Arian by the Socinian, and all three by their answerer, and the original authorities.

The chief pillars of the catholic faith concerning *Christ*.

LV. Now the four principal pillars of the catholic doctrine concerning *Christ*, maintained and defended in this book, are his *preexistence*, his *divine substantiality*, his *eternity*, and his *subordination* as Son. For against the Socinians he proveth, that the Son of God did *preexist* before he was born of the Virgin, and even before the world also was, by

many great authorities. And against the Arians, he sheweth how this Son of God is not of any created and changeable essence, but of the very *same nature* with God his Father: and so is rightly called, *very God of very God*, and *of one substance with the Father*. Also against the same he demonstrateth, how this consubstantial Son of God must have had a *coeternal* existence with the Father. And lastly, against the Tritheists and Sabellians, he argueth the necessity of believing the Father to be the fountain, original, and principle of the Son, and that the Son is hence *subordinate* to the Father. 1685.

Which four articles being established in this treatise, the heads of the catholic doctrine concerning the HOLY GHOST do thence easily also unfold themselves; and are these, according as he hath explained them here, though but incidentally. I.[1] The Holy Ghost is not a mere energy of the Father, but a distinct divine Person. II. This divine Person is of the same nature and essence with the Father and the Son. III. He not only preexisted before the world, but is eternal as the Father is eternal. Yet, IV. He is not self-originated, but proceedeth from the Father eternally as his original, and is sent by the Son. These are the four capital points, concerning the faith in the Holy Ghost, as defended by our author, which suppose the proof of the foregoing articles concerning the Son; about which therefore it was necessary he should be very large. And concerning the *Holy Ghost.*

Now that we may the better comprehend his whole design in this elaborate work, it will not be An account of Mr. Bull's thesis, con-

[1] Sect. i. cap. 2. n. 5. sect. ii. cap. 3. n. 13. n. 16. cap. 4. n. 8. cap. 5. n. 9. usque ad finem.

1685. unuseful to set down the entire plan at once, and to lay together the several *theses* which he hath undertaken herein to defend, against both Arians and Socinians on one hand, as also against Sabellians and Tritheists on the other[m]. His *first thesis* is this: *The person called* Jesus Christ, *before ever he had that name, or was born of the blessed Virgin Mary, had a real* existence *in a far more excellent nature than the human, and therein did appear to the holy men of old, as a foretoken of his future incarnation, and did preside over, and had care of the church, which was to be redeemed with his blood, so that from the beginning of the world, the whole order of the* divine economy *was through him all along transacted: yea, that even before the very foundation of the world he was* actually present *with God his Father, and that through him all this universe was created.* This he saith is the unanimous doctrine of all the Fathers of the three first centuries, nor is the truth of it denied by the Arians. But against the Socinians he proveth, first, that all the divine apparitions in the Old Testament are by these ancient writers generally explained concerning the Son of God. For proof of which he appealeth to Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Theophilus Antiochenus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertul-

cerning the preexistence of Christ.

[m] [The design of Bull's work is well and concisely stated by Waterland, vol. ii. p. 285. "The plain question between bishop "Bull and the Arians is only this: Whether the Ante-Nicene "Fathers, in general, believed the Son to be of an *eternal*, *un-* "*created*, *immutable*, and strictly *divine* substance, or no? Bishop "Bull maintained the affirmative, and has unanswerably proved "it, in the opinion of most men of true learning and judgment, "whether here or abroad."]

lian, Origen, Cyprian, and the very ancient author of the book *de Trinitate* [n]. And, that this continued to be the doctrine of the catholic church after the council of Nice, he sheweth from Athanasius, Hilary, Philastrius, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustin, Leo the Great, and Theodoret. After which, he proveth also the actual existence of the *divine Logos* before the world was made, and the creation thereof by him, from the testimony of the apostolical Fathers and others. And lastly, he proveth [o] against the Arians, that they herein betray their own cause, by granting the Father to have made all things by his Son *out of nothing*; since nothing is more absurd than to suppose that a creature, which is itself made out of nothing, such as by them the Son is conceived to be, can have such a power communicated to it, as is not less than infinite, even to the producing other creatures *instrumentally* out of nothing; and since nothing also tendeth more to revive the primitive heresy, or rather blasphemy, of the very worst sort of Gnostics, who fancied the world to have been created, at least *instrumentally*, by certain angels, and inferior demiurgic powers: but more especially, forasmuch as the primitive catholic writers, even before the stirs about Arius, have from the work of creation common to the Son with the Father inferred the common divine nature of them both, and especially averred, that God created the world by nothing that was *without him*, but by his *Word* only, which was *with him* and *in him*. 1685.

LVI. His second thesis is this, that *it is the*

[n] [Ascribed to Novatian.] [o] Epilog. Oper. Univ.

1685. *constant and unanimous opinion of the catholic writers, for the three first centuries, that the Son of God is* consubstantial *to God the Father; not of any created or mutable essence, but of the very selfsame divine and incommunicable nature with his Father, and so he is true God of true God.*

An account of his *thesis* concerning the *consubstantiality* of the WORD with God the FATHER.

This article of the *consubstantiality* of the Father and the Son, being that upon which the whole controversy of the catholics with the Arians doth turn, our author thought it worth his while to treat the same more largely and distinctly than the former, which is granted by the Arians to the catholics. After therefore the [p] explication of his thesis, and vindication of the term made use of by the Nicene Fathers, he beginneth with the ecclesiastical writers of the apostolical [q] age, and sheweth the sense of St. Barnabas, St. Hermas, and St. Ignatius in this matter, and [r] vindicateth St. Clement of Rome, and St. Polycarp, from the misrepresentations of Zwickerus and Sandius. Then he proceedeth lower to [s] Justin Martyr, out of whom he bringeth abundance of testimonies, too hard for the Arians as well as Socinians ever to get over. After whom he calleth in for witnesses Athenagoras, Tatian, and Theophilus of Antioch. His next evidence for the Son's being of the same divine nature and essence with God the Father is [t] St. Irenæus, who is a very clear one. [u] Clemens Alexandrinus, who followeth him, may not seem perhaps so clear altogether; nevertheless, he is vindicated against the exceptions of Huetius, Petavius, and Sandius. And some testimonies are brought out of his works, for the consubstan-

[p] Sect. ii. cap. 1. [q] Cap. 2. [r] Cap. 3. [s] Cap. 4. [t] Cap. 5. [u] Cap. 6.

tiality of the whole Trinity, which are plain enough. 1685.
After these witnesses for the truth of his thesis, he examineth [x] Tertullian, and after him [y] Caius and Hippolytus, concerning what tradition they had received as to this article: and then is very full in his vindication of [z] Origen from an imputation commonly cast upon him; proving out of his undoubted and most accurate and uncorrupted work against Celsus, that his doctrine, concerning the true and proper divinity of the Son of God, was most catholic, and altogether according to the Nicene faith. That the holy martyr [a] Cyprian, that Novatian, or the author of the book *de Trinitate*, among Tertullian's works, that Theognostus the Alexandrian, that [b] Dionysius of Rome, and the other of Alexandria, were of the same sentiment with the Nicene Fathers, as to this point, he hath likewise endeavoured at large to shew. Which he hath farther confirmed, by the profession of Gregory, called [c] Thaumaturgus, and by arguments drawn from the [d] synodical epistles of six bishops to Paulus Samosatensis, notwithstanding what is objected by Petavius and Sandius; and from the relations concerning St. Pierius of Alexandria, and St. Pamphilus of Cæsarea, with St. Lucianus of Antioch, and St. Methodius of Tyrus; and from observations upon some passages of [e] Arnobius and Lactantius. And thus the doctrine of the Son's *consubstantiality*, being established by the consentient suffrages of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, taken either from their works or fragments that are preserved, his *coeternity* with

[x] Cap. 7. [y] Cap. 8. [z] Cap. 9. [a] Cap. 10. [b] Cap. 11.
[c] Cap. 12. [d] Cap. 13. [e] Cap. 14.

1685. God the Father is by necessary consequence inferred, which is the subject of the following section.

And concerning his *coeternity* with him.

Now whereas the ancient church-writers did differently express themselves on this point, while yet he will have it that there was no difference in their meaning, he hath proved, I. *That the better and greater part of the Christian doctors, who lived before the council of Nice, did openly, clearly, and perspicuously, without any windings, teach and profess the* τὸ συναΐδιον *of the Son, that is, his* coeternal existence *with God the Father.* II. *That some catholic writers, more ancient than the Nicene council, seem to attribute a certain nativity to the Son of God,* as God, *which sometime began, and just* preceded *the creation of the world: but that these notwithstanding were very wide from the opinion of Arius.* "For if," saith he, "their sayings are accurately weighed, it will appear that "they spake of a nativity not *real* and *properly* so "called, whereby the Son received a beginning of "his substance [ὑπόστασις] and subsistence; but of "a *figurative* and *metaphorical* one: that is, their "meaning was only this, that the *Logos*, or divine Word, which from before all ages (or rather "from all eternity) did, *as being nothing but* "*God*, exist *in* and *with* God the Father, as the "coeternal offspring of his *eternal* mind, then, when "he was about to create the world, came forth "*unto operation*, [κατ' ἐνέργειαν,] or effectually, and "so proceeded to the *constitution* (and formation) of "all things therein, for the *manifesting* himself and "his Father to the creatures: and that by reason of "this progression [προέλευσις] he is in Scripture called,

"the Son of God, and his *first-begotten*." III. *That some of the catholic doctors, who lived* after *the Arian controversy was sprung up, and strenuously opposed themselves to the heresy of the* Ariomanites, *nevertheless refused not to express themselves according to the* sentiment, *or rather according to the manner of explaining their sentiment, held by those primitive Fathers just before mentioned.* For these also, as he evidently sheweth, have acknowledged that *progression* out of the Father of the *Logos*, that existed always with the Father, to create all this universe; which some of them have called by the name Συγκατάβασις, that is, his *condescension:* and have confessed, that even with respect to this *progression*, the *Word* was born as it were of God the Father, and is called in Scripture the *first-begotten of every creature.* IV. *That Tertullian indeed had the boldness to write in express terms*, fuisse tempus, quando Filius Dei non esset, *that there was a time when the Son of God* was not. But then, first it is plain that this writer, though otherwise of a great genius, and no less learning, fell away from the catholic church into heresy: and it is very uncertain which books he writ when he was a catholic, which when he was inclining towards heresy, and which, lastly, when he was a downright heretic. Then again Tertullian seems to have brought forth that saying only problematically, or by way of disputation, [ἀγωνιστικῶς,] and in the conflict with his adversary, as it were playing about the word *Son:* so as though he may seem absolutely to deny the Son's *eternity*, yet all the while he doth mean no more at the bottom, than those other Fathers that have been before

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1685. mentioned[f]; namely, that *that divine Person*, who is called the *Son of God*, notwithstanding that he never but existed with the Father, was yet then first *declared* to be the Son, when he proceeded forth from the Father, in order to make or constitute the universe. Certain it is, that the same Tertullian elsewhere, in many places, philosophizeth altogether as a good catholic concerning the Son's *coeternity*, the supereminency of the subject considered. And as for Lactantius, who somewhere not obscurely ascribeth *a beginning of existence* to the Son of God, his esteem and authority in the church of God is but very small, forasmuch as he was uninstructed in the Scriptures, and was furnished with but a small share of Christian knowledge. But moreover, we must necessarily conclude, that either those places in the writings of Lactantius, which seem to make against the Son's eternity, were corrupted by some Manichean heretic, or else that Lactantius himself was certainly infected with the heresy of Manes. And after all it must be owned, that even he too hath yet somewhere delivered a sounder opinion concerning the eternity of the *Logos*. All which particulars our author hath distinctly considered in the last chapter of this third section. The first of these articles he hath illustrated and confirmed by a very noble passage out of St. Ignatius; as also by several plain and express testimonies of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen; and likewise by many other concurring suffrages of the Fathers, Greek and Latin, of the third century, or thereabouts. The second article he clears up by a most accurate

[f] Sect. ii. cap. 5, 6, 7, 8.

explication of the opinion of Athenagoras, concerning the Son's *eternity* and *progression*; as also of Tatian and Theophilus Antiochenus, whom he proveth as to the main to have been sound and catholic in this point. The same he hath made out also concerning St. Hippolytus the martyr: and hath fully represented the sentiment hereupon of the ancient anonymous author, *concerning the Trinity*, ascribed to Novatian and Tertullian. The *third* article he hath established and illustrated pretty largely, by testimonies from the catholic Fathers, who flourished after the rise of the Arian controversy; as particularly from the great Eusebius of Cæsarea, from Socrates, from Athanasius himself, from an epistle of some Arian presbyters and deacons, extant both in him and in Hilary, from Zeno, bishop of Verona, besides the epistle of Constantine the Great to the Nicomedians, against Eusebius and Theognis, and other considerable materials out of the forecited Athanasius. The *fourth* article being no less solidly and perspicuously proved by him, he concludeth with an epilogue grounded upon a saying of Sisinnius, reported by [g] Socrates, *That the ancients did studiously take heed not to attribute any beginning of existence to the Son of God, because they conceived him to be* COETERNAL *with the Father*. For it appears by him, of the *six* Ante-Nicene writers (Lactantius not being reckoned) that speak in the most suspicious manner, no less than *five* of them, namely, Athenagoras, Tatian, Theophilus, Hippolytus, and the author of the ancient book *de Trinitate*, have openly professed, that the *divine Logos* was with God the Father from ever- 1685.

[g] Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cap. 10.

1685. lasting. And even Tertullian himself, who is the *sixth*, after a great deal of round-about work, is found to sit down at last in the common opinion, as he calls it, that is, in the catholic or orthodox notion, and there to acquiesce: according as he hath expressly asserted against the Valentinians, who were the forerunners of Arius. No doubt but that there were also many other monuments of antiquity, which were seen and read by Sisinnius, who was known to be a person of great learning [h] in the ecclesiastical writers, as particularly of Quadratus, Aristides, Miltiades, Melito, &c. which now are lost; but might have served not a little to the farther clearing up of this thesis, had their works come down to us. From this determination of the eternal existence of the *Logos*, or Word, *in* and *with* the Father, he proceedeth in the last place to consider his subordination and dependence upon the Father, whose Word he is.

Notwithstanding his *subordination* to the Father.

LVII. Now concerning the *subordination* of the Son, as to his *original* from the Father, Mr. Bull hath laid down and proved these three following theses; viz. 1. "[i] That decree of the Nicene council, "by which it is declared that the Son of God *is* "*God of God*, [Θεὸς ἐκ Θεοῦ,] is generally approved "of by the catholic doctors, both by them that lived "before, and them that lived after that council: "for they all with one consent have taught, that "the divine nature and perfections do agree to the "Father and Son, not *collaterally* or *co-ordinately*, "but *subordinately*: that is, that the Son hath "indeed the same divine nature in common with

[h] Sozom. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. vii. cap. 12.

[i] Sect. iv. cap. 1.

" the Father, but hath it *communicated* from the 1685.
" Father, so as the Father alone hath that divine
" nature *from himself*, or from no other besides, but
" the Son *from the Father*; and consequently, that
" the Father is the fountain, original, and principle
" of the divinity, which is in the Son. 2. [k] The
" catholic writers, both they that were before, and
" they that were after the council of Nice, have
" unanimously declared God the Father to be greater
" than the Son; even according to his divinity: yet
" this not by nature indeed, or by any essential per-
" fection which is in the Father, and is wanting in
" the Son; but only by *fatherhood*, or his being the
" author and original; forasmuch as the Son is from
" the Father, not the Father from the Son. 3. The
" doctrine of the subordination of the Son to the
" Father, as to his *origination* and *principiation*,
" the ancients thought to be most useful, and even
" altogether necessary to be known and believed, that
" by this means the Godhead of the Son might be
" so asserted, as that the *unity* of God, nevertheless,
" and the *divine monarchy* might still be preserved
" inviolate. Forasmuch as notwithstanding the *name*
" and *nature* are common to two, that is, to the Fa-
" ther and to the Son, yet because one is the princi-
" ple of the other, from whom he is propagated, and
" that by internal not external production; it thence
" followeth, that God may rightly be said to be but
" one God. And the same ancients believed more-
" over, that the very same reason did hold likewise
" as to the Godhead of the Holy Ghost." This is
the sum of his doctrine, concerning the divine mo-

[k] Cap. 2.

1685. narchy and subordination in the blessed Trinity, so as not to lessen either the consubstantiality or coeternity of the Son and Spirit with the Father. For though he maintained that there are in the Deity three really distinct hypostases or persons, he no less strenuously insisteth, that there is and can be but *one God;* first, because there is but one fountain or principle of the Godhead, viz. The FATHER, who only is [Αὐτόθεος] God *of and from himself*, the SON and HOLY GHOST deriving from him their divinity: and then because the SON and HOLY GHOST are so derived from the fountain of the divinity, as not to be *separate* or *separable* from it, but always to exist therein most intimately united.

The doctrine of the council of Nice vindicated by Mr. Bull against the modern *Autotheans.*

Under each of these three last *theses* there are some considerable observations made by our author, from the catholic doctors of the church, both before and after the rise of *Arianism;* without a thorough understanding of which, it will be impossible ever to settle this matter to satisfaction. In treating the first of them, he hath learnedly and solidly confuted the unreasonable and uncatholic notion of the moderns, which maketh the Son a self-dependent principle of divinity, (and by consequence another God,) by asserting and defending, that he might *properly* be called Αὐτόθεος, as well as the Father is, and that he is truly *God of himself*, and not *God of God*, as the Nicene Fathers confess him. This opinion was first of all started by [1] Calvin, against the judgment of the catholic church to this very day, and even of the first reformers, Luther and Melancthon, as Petavius and our author have sufficiently shewn. It was

[1] Inst. Theol. lib. i. cap. 13. §. 19.

afterwards dressed up and vindicated by [m] Danæus, 1685.
and after him by several others of the *Calvinistical* school; whose main argument was this, that Christ must have been *God of himself*, or else he could not be God at all; because the notion of God supposeth *self-existence*. This opinion was very much opposed about the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century by Arminius, in an epistolary dissertation on this subject to one Vytenbogard, in his *declaration* made before the States of Holland, in his *Apology* against the *one* and *thirty* Articles, and lastly, in a letter to the prince Palatine's envoyée to the States General. But the prejudices which many entertained against him were so violent, as none of his arguments could get to be heard by them, who were so bigotted to their master, and to his private opinions, as not to be able to bear any thing which might grate but never so little upon the esteem they had for him, and for theses, which were looked upon by them as so many evangelical discoveries. This seems to be the true state of the matter; whence this controversy was still kept up by some of the more zealous antiremonstrants, notwithstanding the great weight of evidence brought for the old catholic doctrine against them in this article.

Some went so far as even to ridicule the Nicene creed upon this account, and to call the Fathers who composed it a parcel of [n] *fanatics*, for styling therein Christ, *God of God, Light of light*, &c. And some ran also hence into [o] *Sabellian explications* of this

[m] Isagog. Chris. lib. i. cap. 23.
[n] Vid. Defen. Fid. Nic. sect. iv. cap. i. §. 8.
[o] Ib. §. 7, 9. et Epist. i. Armin. ad J. Vytenbog.

1685. mystery, even to the taking away of all distinction of hypostases in the Godhead, as by our author hath been well observed: Bellarmin and Petavius have been too severe however upon Calvin for this mistake; but [p] Possevin still more so, by whom it is named the *Heresy of the Autotheans;* and the founder of it, the *new Tritheist.* But there is none, after all, to be compared with a certain [q] Austrian Jesuit, the author of a book called *Symbola tria,* who hath been at the pains to collect several passages out of *Calvin's Institutions,* and his *Explication of the perfidiousness of Valentinus Gentilis,* that he might compare them with some passages of the *Alcoran,* asserting God to be a Being of himself necessarily existing, to whom it is impossible to receive or borrow his essence *from another;* and thence most uncharitably concludeth, that Mahomet and Calvin must both have had the same wicked design. Episcopius and Curcellæus have been much more modest and candid in animadverting on this novel opinion, and establishing the *communicability* of the divine nature and essence from the Father to the Son, according to the faith of the catholic church.

His candid treatment of Calvin on this account.

And even the zeal of Mr. Bull hath not here hindered him from treating with esteem the author of so dangerous an opinion, while at the same time he is confuting it, for the sake of some laudable qualifications which he discerned in him, and was endeavouring to excuse him as well as the matter could bear, against the insults of the most learned writer

[p] Lib. de Sectariorum Atheismis cap. vi. p. 13. edit. Colon. 1586.

[q] Symbola tria CATHOLICUM, CALVINIANUM, LUTHERANUM omnia ipsis eorum verbis expressa. Quirinus Cnoglerus Austrius recensuit et notis illustravit, Colon. 1622.

of his whole order, so famous for learning. This deserveth the more to be taken notice of, because some of the expressions of that author are so very harsh, with respect to the present point, and did seem to border so nearly upon what his enemies have accused him of, as made Mr. Bull's ears almost to tingle, and caused him to break out after this manner; *Horresco hæc referens*, &c. that is, [r] "While I am telling "these things, I have an horror upon me; and "therefore I most seriously exhort the pious and "studious youth, that they take heed of that spirit "from which such effects as these have proceeded. "We owe much indeed to that great man, for his "excellent service in purging the church of Christ "from popish superstition. But far be it from us "that we should receive him for our master, or that "we should swear to his words; or lastly, that we "should be afraid freely to remark, as there shall be "cause for so doing, his manifest errors, and his new "and singular determinations, against the catholic "consent of antiquity." In which words our author hath so fully and clearly expressed his true sense, and a generous liberty of mind, and given withal such a prudent caution and advice to all young students in divinity, as nothing farther need, I suppose, be added to clear him from an imputation, which some have injuriously cast upon him, of having *infamously broken the cartel of honour and civility*, by his treatment of them of the opposite side. 1685.

LVIII. In his handling the second thesis, Mr. Bull hath shewn, that he had examined the holy Fathers He defends an *equality of nature*.

[r] Sect. iv. cap. 1. §. 8.

1685. of the church, both before and after the determination of the council of Nice, with a more than ordinary *application, diligence,* and *observation,* (as his very [s] enemies cannot deny,) and hath proved it to have been the general belief, that *the Father was* greater *than the Son as to his* original, *and the Son* equal *to his Father as to his* nature, [κατὰ φύσιν;] and [t] answered at large the principal objection against the *natural coequality* of the Father and the Son, taken from such passages in the Ante-Nicene writers, as seem to deny the *immensity* and *invisibility* of the Son; which are here reconciled with other passages in them, which are express for those attributes being common to him with the Father.

not to be inconsistent with such a subordination.

Under the third and last thesis he hath made appear the use and advantage of this doctrine, concerning the subordination of the Son to the Father, notwithstanding the equality of their nature; and hath many judicious observations, about the distinction and union of the divine hypostases or persons; about the consent of both the contending sides, in laying a principle of unity in the Father, (whether that be consubstantial or not consubstantial;) about internal and external production; and about some other matters for the farther explication both of the monarchy and the Trinity in the Godhead, from the principal Fathers both Greek and Latin. There are various opinions, it is true, concerning his performance of this last part: and different uses have been made thereof by different parties, which is not

The advantage of this doctrine, how by him explained.

[s] Judgment of the Fathers [concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, opposed to Dr. G. Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith. London, 1695.] p. 77.

[t] Cap. 3.

much to be wondered at. To come to our present times. 1685.

LIX. The ingenious and learned Dr. Clarke in particular hath in his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* [u], printed this very year, no less than thirty citations out of this very treatise; and almost all of them are represented in a very different view from that which our author certainly had in writing those passages: as are also the citations out of the Fathers themselves, which Dr. Clarke here met with, and hath accommodated to his own purpose, and that frequently, without so much as the least notice taken of the explications and answers given to them by this our author. And here, because some have thought Dr. Clarke's scheme of the Trinity to be in some measure agreeable to that which is delivered to us for the catholic doctrine in this most learned treatise, from the testimony of the three first ages of Christianity, and that it is somewhat supported by the authority of two such great names amongst us as PEARSON and BULL; I shall set it down, as well as I can in a few words, that the reader may compare it with the foregoing theses, and thence judge for himself.

The use of this treatise made by Dr. Clarke considered.

The learned defender of the Nicene faith, having vindicated at large, as we have already seen, both the *consubstantiality* of the Son, and his *coeternal existence* with the Father, gave occasion for different reflections, by his maintaining, that though the Son be coequal with the Father, as having the same di-

Whose scheme is compared with his.

[u] The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, in three parts, &c. by Samuel Clarke, D. D. &c. Lond. 1712.

1685. vine nature with the Father, without any change or diminution, yet he is subordinate to the Father, as receiving the divine nature from him. This is in short the very sum of his doctrine, which hath been excepted against by some, and misapplied by others; as if such a subordination which he teacheth were in itself inconsistent with a natural or essential co-equality of persons. But not to trouble ourselves here with any others, let us proceed to take a view at once of the doctrine of the Trinity, which Dr. Clarke hath advanced for the true *Scripture doctrine* of it; which is this, viz. "There is one first "and supreme cause, the Author of all being, and "sole origin of all power and authority, who alone "is self-existent, underived, unoriginated, indepen- "dent, made of none, begotten of none, proceeding "from none; who is called the *Father*, and is abso- "lutely *supreme over all*, and the *one* or only God "in the Scripture language. With whom there hath "existed from the beginning a *second* divine person, "who is called his *Word* or *Son*, deriving his being "or essence, and all his attributes from him, as the "supreme cause; but whether by the *necessity* of "*nature*, or the *power* of his *will* only, the doctor "will not be positive: no more than he will be, "whether he existed *from all eternity*, or only *be- "fore all worlds*; and whether he was *begotten of "the same substance* and essence with the Father, "or *made out of nothing*; because of the danger of "presuming to be able to define the *particular me- "taphysical manner* of the Son's deriving his essence "from the Father. With whom also a *third* person "hath existed, deriving his essence in like manner "from him, through the Son; which person hath

" higher titles ascribed to him than to any angel, or 1685.
" other created being whatsoever, but is no where
" called *God* in Scripture, being subordinate to the
" Son, both by *nature* and by the *will* of the Father."
This is the substance of the doctrine of the Trinity, as defended by this doctor, and from which he inferreth, " That *absolute supreme honour* is due to " the person of the *Father* singly, as being alone " the supreme Author of all being and power; and " that whatever honour is paid to the *Son*, who re- " deemed, or to the *Holy Spirit*, who sanctifieth us, " must always be understood, as tending finally to " the honour and glory of the *Father*, by whose " good pleasure the Son redeemed, and the Holy " Spirit sanctifies us." According to this doctrine, it appeareth that the *Son* must not be God, strictly and properly speaking, much less still the Holy Spirit, but that God the Father alone is *the true and supreme God:* and therefore he asserts expressly, that the Scripture, when it mentions God absolutely, and by way of eminence, means the person of the Father; as likewise when it mentioneth the *one God*, or the *only God;* though he could not, after having read the *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, be ignorant that this was contrary to the mind of the catholic Fathers. Neither could he, of what the learned author of the *Considerations on Mr. Whiston's Historical Preface*, whom he cites, had said to this purpose; though he might not possibly have observed or remembered, that there is a whole chapter in [x] St. Irenæus, purposely to shew, that Christ is in Scripture expressly and absolutely called God, and

[x] Lib. iii. cap. 6.

1685. that he is the *one* and *only God* in the unity of the Father's substance or essence; and *very God*, in opposition to all those that are improperly called *God* in the sacred writings. However this might be, certain it is, that Dr. Clarke, who had so ample a collection of testimonies concerning the Trinity before him in this treatise, as well as in Petavius, hath not made that use of them, which this indefatigable and judicious collector did, or which might have been expected from a person of so great a character in the church and learned world, as Dr. Clarke.

The doctor's artful way of citing authors and books.

For the plain and confessed truth is, that we are not to depend much upon the quotations by him brought, for knowing the opinion or judgment of any writer: since this was never so much as designed by him. Wherefore *the reader must not wonder*, as he himself fairly warneth, *if many passages not consistent with* (*nay perhaps contrary to*) *those which are cited* by him in this book, *shall by any one be alleged out of the same authors*. So we must not wonder if in above thirty citations, out of our author, according as this ingenious writer hath extracted and applied them, we can hardly find one in ten of them cited with any consistence with, or subservience to that, which we know for certain to have been our author's fixed opinion, and well weighed judgment. For whosoever will be at the pains to compare the several passages cited by Dr. Clarke, as they stand in the places whence they are taken, with other clear and express passages of our learned author, and with the whole scope and purport of his reasonings for the truth of the Nicene doctrine, must evidently perceive, that these are all placed in quite another light by the doctor than in

the book referred to; that some are directly contrary to the author's true meaning, and to his design in writing, and most of the rest *inconsistent* at least with the same, as the doctor very well knew. And indeed he minceth not the matter, but frankly and ingenuously acknowledgeth, that he doth not *cite places out of these authors*, [meaning them who have written since the council of Nice,] *so much to shew what was the opinion of the writers themselves, as to shew how naturally truth sometimes prevails by its own native clearness and evidence, even against the strongest and most settled prejudices.* Nothing therefore would be more vain, than to expect to learn from him the opinion of any Christian writer whatsoever, later than the council of Nice, because quoted by him: and as for the writers before, and at the time of that council, he *thinketh*, that the greatest part of them were really of that opinion, which he hath endeavoured to set forth in his *propositions*, which make the *second part* of his pretended *Scripture doctrine*. But though this be his thought, he cannot but own nevertheless, that *they do not always speak very clearly and consistently*. By which I suppose he meaneth, that they do not always plainly support his scheme. This charge however I do not find laid by him against our author, who hath spoken his mind clearly enough in the great points before us, and who will appear never to have contradicted his own assertions or theses concerning these mysterious truths. 1685.

One would indeed be almost tempted to believe, that he had, from many passages that this learned doctor hath picked up out of him with much art, in order to support his own scheme, been altogether of More particularly, the *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*.

1685. his mind; or that at least his manner of writing must have been very perplexed, without any connexion or consistency with principles, and as holding forth frequently a double meaning. But that this is no part of his character, the very passages appealed to by the very doctor himself, to exemplify how *naturally truth* can prevail, as he will have it, *by its own native evidence*, are more than sufficient to prove; for which reason I have drawn up a [y] list

[y] *Clarke's Script. Doctrine.* — *Bull's Def. Fidei Nicæ.*

P. I. c. 1. §. 3. T. 340. p. 51. — Sect. II. c. 9. §. 13.
P. I. c. 2. §. 3. T. 616. p. 117. — Sect. I. c. 1. §. 2.
Ibid. p. 118. — Sect. IV. c. 3. §. 15.
P. I. c. 2. §. 5. T. 830. p. 161. — Sect. II. c. 9. §. 12.
P. I. c. 2. §. 5. T. 934. p. 177. — Sect. II. c. 3. §. 4.
— Ibid. c. 4. §. 7.
P. II. §. 9. p. 257. — Procem. §. 4.
P. II. §. 11. p. 266. — Sect. II. c. 9. §. 8.
P. II. §. 11. p. 269. — Ibid. §. 12.
P. II. §. 11. p. 270. — Sect. IV. c. 1. §. 2.
P. II. §. 12. p. 271. — Sect. IV. c. 1. §. 7.
Ibid. — Ibid. §. 8.
P. II. §. 17. p. 282. — Sect. III. c. 8. §. 8.
P. II. §. 23. p. 295. — Sect. II. c. 13. §. 1.
Ibid. — Sect. III. c. 9. §. 8.
P. II. §. 34. p. 311. — Sect. II. c. 8. §. 5.
Ibid. — Sect. IV. c. 1. §. 7.
Ibid. — Sect. IV. c. 2. §. 3.
P. II. §. 34. p. 312. — Sect. IV. c. 3. §. 4.
P. II. §. 36. p. 329. — Sect. II. c. 5. §. 6.
Ibid. — Sect. II. c. 9. §. 10.
Ibid. p. 330. — Sect. IV. c. 3. §. 4.
P. II. §. 39. p. 346. — Sect. II. c. 8. §. 5.
Ibid. — Sect. III. c. 5. §. 4.
Ibid. p. 347. — Sect. IV. c. 4. §. 2.
Ibid. p. 348. — Sect. IV. c. 4. §. 7.
P. II. §. 44. p. 357. — Sect. II. c. 9. §. 15.

of them, that equal and impartial examiners may be fully informed in the matter, as it shall be thought worth their while; and so be enabled to pass a right judgment, according as the evidence shall clearly cast the balance for the one or for the other of these writers. The very first passage of all is a remark of our author's upon the words of Origen, commenting on our Lord's answer to the person who called him *good*, which the learned Huetius, in his *Origeniana*, had charged with heresy. These Mr. Bull hath fully vindicated against that heavy charge, and shewn how Huetius mistook this Father, speaking of Christ as an *exemplar* in his human nature, and according to the *economy of God*, [Ad Christi οἰκονομίαν in assumpta natura humana susceptam,] as if he had spoken of him with respect to his divine nature: and not the least word is said that can justly be interpreted of the Son's inferiority to the Father in nature, but rather on the contrary. For he there sheweth, that Origen did hold and teach the Son to be *very God, uncreated, immortal, immutable, impassible, infinite, omnipresent, and absolutely blessed and perfect, no less than the Father*, by clear and undoubted testimonies, taken from his book 1685.

Clarke's Script. Doctrine.	*Bull's Def. Fidei Nicæ.*
P. II. §. 44. p. 358.	Sect. II. c. 9. §. 15.
Ibid. p. 359.	Sect. IV. c. 1. §. 7.
Ibid. p. 360.	Sect. IV. c. 4. §. 5.
Ibid.	Sect. II. c. 3. §. 6.
Ibid. p. 361.	Sect. II. c. 9. §. 15.
P. II. §. 45. p. 363.	Ibid.
Ibid. p. 364.	Sect. II. c. 3. §. 6.
Ibid.	Sect. II. c. 9. §. 15.
Ibid.	Sect. IV. c. 4. §. 5.
P. III. c. 2. p. 458.	Sect. IV. c. 4. §. 7.

1685. against Celsus; and answereth all the objections or suspicions of Huetius, against the soundness of his faith in that article. The next passage cited by Dr. Clarke is no more for an *inferiority of nature* in the Son than the first is: the plain meaning of it being no other, than that, according to the constant doctrine of all catholic Fathers, Christ did actually subsist before his incarnation, in another and more excellent nature than that of man; and that appearing to the holy men under the Old Testament, he received from them divine honours, and was manifested to them by the most high name of God. Mr. Bull first proveth his *preexistence*, and his *apparitions* in a human form, as a kind of anticipation of his taking on him our flesh: and this being proved, he then sheweth how he did *eternally* exist with the Father, in the same nature and substance. Now there is nothing in this whole method, nor in any particular argument under it, which doth tend in the least to favour such an inequality of nature in Father and Son, as is included in that scheme which it is brought to support. As for the third passage made use of, it is certainly no better applied than the former; the design of that whole chapter whence it is taken being to answer a principal objection, which had even shocked Mr. Bull himself for a good while, that would infer a *difference* in the divine nature of the Son from that of the Father, the one *manifestable*, the other *not manifestable*. The fourth passage seemeth indeed to be very much to his purpose, and every one that reads it as it is cited, and will not be at the pains to consult either what follows it, or what is there distinctly referred to, may be easily led to think, that our author was not a defender, but

an underminer of the Nicene *faith*, by maintaining the Son, *even as he is God*, to be *less* than the Father: which though it be most true in a certain sense which he hath explained, in conformity to primitive testimonies, and to the confession of the council of Nice itself, as *he is God of God*; yet is both most diametrically opposite to his plain meaning, and to what he defended for the catholic faith with so much strength, if thereby it be understood, that there is *greater* and *less* in the divine nature and essence. Which matter being fully and clearly handled in the second chapter of his *fourth section*, I shall say no more to it: but send my learned reader thither for satisfaction, as Mr. Bull himself hath done before me, in that very passage which the doctor hath here cited, but without taking notice of the reference. Whether it were the doctor's design, hereby to shew *how easy and natural that notion must be allowed to be, which so* learned a defender of the faith, in a treatise written for the cause of the council of Nice against the Arians, *could not forbear expressing so clearly and distinctly even frequently, when at the same time he is about to affirm, and endeavouring something not very consistent with it*, I shall not much inquire: it is enough to have shewn what manner of judgment we ought to make of his citations, for they are generally applied much after the same manner, and with the same views. And it were alike easy to shew, how his testimonies out of the ancient ecclesiastical writers are alleged in this very manner, *teste seipso*. But since he bringeth them only as *illustrations* of his propositions, not as *proofs* of them; it is certainly not worth the while to contend about what he himself 1685.

1685. layeth so little stress upon. Howsoever, it may deserve to be taken notice of, that the greatest part of the testimonies by him produced do appear in quite another light, as they are cited by the judicious Mr. Bull, than as they are applied by Dr. Clarke for illustrating his propositions. Whether Dr. Clarke's doctrines or Mr. Bull's be best supported by these testimonies, I leave the learned to judge.

The use of this treatise made by Dr. Edwards, the animadverter on Dr. Clarke.

LX. Dr. John Edwards of Cambridge [z], on the other hand, hath found fault with our author, for a reason which made him the better accepted with Dr. Clarke; as not being able to receive the doctrine of the subordination of the Son to the Father, in the sense of the ancient writers, yea even of Athanasius himself; and therefore condemning, together with him, a pretty number of the ancients as well as of the moderns, and such of them both, as generally have been accounted most orthodox in the doctrine of the Trinity, and some more particularly famous, for their being advocates for the consubstantiality and natural equality of Father and Son. Now the case plainly standeth thus between them. There can be no doubt but that Christ spoke these words, *my Father is greater than I*, in whatsoever sense they are to be understood. These are made use of in the *Scripture Doctrine* aforementioned, to prove the *inferiority*, of the Son, and

[z] Some Animadversions on Dr. Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine* (as he styles it) of the TRINITY: briefly shewing, that his quotations out of the Fathers are forced: his texts produced from Scripture are wrested: his arguments and inferences are weak and illogical: and that his whole performance falls short of his design. By John Edwards, D.D. London, 1712.

nsequently, as Dr. Edwards observeth, to subvert 1685.
is real divinity. Now it is acknowledged by this
arned animadverter, that *some*, yea *a pretty many*
f the ancients, understand this place, John xiv. 28.
f Christ's *divine nature*, and insist upon it, that
e is inferior to the Father, *because he is his Son.*
Ie denies not, but that Athanasius himself inter-
reteth the text after that manner; and saith, that
Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, and
Cyril of Alexandria, do the like. He mentioneth
wo only that understand it of Christ's *human na-*
ure: and then referreth to seven of them, that in-
erpret this text concerning *both natures.* But this
s, in his judgment, a depressing the doctrine of
Christ's supreme divinity; and he will have it to be
ll wrong and false, and that till we correct this
notion of the subordination and inferiority of the
on, *as Son*, we shall never have right apprehen-
ions concerning the *glorious Trinity.* This is his
pinion; wherein he opposeth not only Dr. Clarke,
ut the most eminent witnesses and defenders of
he Nicene *faith*, ancient and modern. But this
e doth because he is persuaded, that all of them
ave been mistaken by the misapplication of the
ommon and received notion of *paternity* and *fili-*
ation, in the translation of these from *man* to *God.*
For, saith he, "[a] Those first writers found, that the
'communication of the divinity from the *first* per-
'son to the *second* was expressed in Scripture by
'*generation* and *begetting*; and they were sensible,
'that a father is not subordinate to his son, but the
'son to the father, and that he who is *begotten*, is
'inferior to him that *begets*; which they applied

[a] P. 20, 21.

1685. "to God the Father and his Son." This is readily acknowledged; but then withal it ought to be considered, that according to these very writers there is an inferiority of *order* or *dispensation*, and an inferiority of *nature* or of *substance*; which distinction must carefully be attended to, because many of them, who own the former with respect to the *Son of God*, do yet most strenuously oppugn the latter. This however he concludeth to have been the *rise and ground of the erroneous and dangerous opinion of the Son's being* inferior *to the Father*; without taking any notice of that distinction, which is so common in them. Whereupon he inferreth, "[b] That those very learned and worthy prelates, "bishop Pearson and bishop Bull, with other mo- "dern divines, have hurt the doctrine of the Trinity "by listening to those writers, and by urging the "inferiority of the Son to the Father, in respect of "his divinity." And further he saith, that "Mr. "Whiston and Dr. Clarke have laid hold on these "writings, and have made the Son of God a mere "dependent being, and not worthy to be styled a "*God*." But if Mr. Whiston [c] and Dr. Clarke have thus laid hold of these writings, they have laid hold on the Scriptures also. Let the writings of these two worthy prelates be heard for themselves, and there will be but little reason found for the boasting of such as depress the real divinity of the Son of God: and let the Scriptures, as interpreted by the catholic rule of antiquity, be heard likewise for them in this cause. This I hope will not be denied by any, being a request so reasonable in itself: and if

[b] P. 21. [c] [See the Historical preface to *Primitive Christianity restored*. London, 1711.]

granted, I do not much doubt of the success, though there should be several prejudices here to grapple with. For nothing surely can ever be more plain from that whole [d] chapter of our author, which treateth distinctly of this very subject, than the great and manifest difference that there is betwixt *order* and *substance*, with respect to the persons of the Father and the Son in the blessed Trinity; forasmuch as there is a gradation of one but not of the other, according to the most primitive and catholic tradition of the faith: and the very same Fathers who are so plain and express for the former, and even so far as thence to be challenged by the adversaries of the catholic faith, out of a mistaken apprehension of their true and genuine sense, are generally express against the latter. This is made most clear in Justin Martyr; in whom some seeming contradictions are hereby very easily to be reconciled, as our author in that chapter sheweth. Thus also Irenæus, who confesseth the Father's prerogative, and the Son's subordination in the fullest terms, disputeth yet with the Valentinians against this notion of the inferiority and inequality of the *Logos* to the Father; and when he distinguisheth betwixt the *Logos* and the *creatures*, he maketh the difference herein chiefly to consist, that no creature can be *equal to its Maker*, thereby manifestly signifying, that the Word, or Son of God, must needs be altogether equal to God his Father, as to his nature; whence also he pronounceth them to be exactly *commensurate* with each other, without any manner of diminution whatso- 1685.

[d] Sect. iv. cap. 2.

1685. ever, and chargeth them with blindness who do not see this truth. Thus also Clement of Alexandria, thus Tertullian, thus Origen, thus Dionysius of Alexandria, before the rise of the Arian controversy: thus Alexander of Alexandria, and his successor Athanasius, upon the rise of it, as plainly as words can express: thus afterwards, in the progress of this controversy, Basil the Great, thus Nazianzen, thus Chrysostom, thus Cyril of Alexandria, and John Damascen, among the Greek writers: thus Marius Victorinus, thus Hilary, thus Augustin, and others among the Latin Fathers, have all written to the same purpose, as our author hath at large proved. Nay, it is more than a little observable, that even those very ancients, which by Dr. Edwards are taxed for having misled into error the most eminent divines of this last age, do abundantly herein clear themselves, according to the report which he himself hath given us of them, at the very time that he is disputing against the thesis of the Son's subordination, as it is explained and defended in this treatise by our excellent author. For it must be owned, that he hath brought out of them several illustrious testimonies, which shew, that notwithstanding they asserted the same subordination with these two great men of our church, yet they never asserted it so, as to deny that supremacy, which belongs to the Son as well as his Father; but on the contrary taught, that the very notion of supremacy is necessarily included in that of the deity, and that *God cannot excel God*, nor one of the divine persons be inferior to the other, as to the divine being and nature; but that there is one deity and power in them, not unequal as to their sub-

stances and natures, neither increased by any super- 1685.
excellencies, nor decreased by any diminutions, but every way equal and the same; notwithstanding that diversity of *dispensation*, and of *order*, which the same witnesses bear record of, as delivered to them from the beginning. So that from the review of what these several writers have advanced, and of the great pains they have been at in collecting such a number of ancient testimonies to support their several hypotheses, it will evidently appear, that notwithstanding what the holy Scriptures and the catholic Fathers have delivered down to us concerning the unity and identity of the blessed Trinity as to its essence, yet they always suppose and assert the difference of the personalities in the Godhead, and consequently the difference of *order*, with the diversity of operations. And thus the charge of Dr. Edwards, through the sides of Dr. Clarke, against this famous defender of the primitive faith, falleth to the ground.

Of Dr. Cudworth and Dr. Sherlock: and their schemes compared with this author.

LXI. But it is not to be wondered at, if from the first publication of this learned *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, and ever since, there have been various sentiments concerning it among the learned, according as they have been differently affected or instructed[e]. For the most learned author of the *Intellectual System*, Dr. Cudworth, having professedly maintained, that the three persons of the Trinity are three distinct spiritual substances, but that the Father alone is truly and properly God, that he

[e] [Simon in his *Nouvelle Bibliotheque choisie*, c. 14. seems not well satisfied with the *Defence*.]

1685. alone in the proper sense is supreme, that absolute supreme honour is due to him only, and that he, absolutely speaking, is the only God of the universe; the Son and Spirit being God, but only by the Father's concurrence with them, and their subordination and subjection to him; this awakened a suspicion in some, that Mr. Bull was Dr. Cudworth's second in this cause: and Dr. Sherlock, having afterwards directly maintained, that there are three infinite distinct *minds* and *substances* in the Trinity, and that the three persons of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are so many infinite minds or spirits; which he endeavoured also to explain, according to the principles of the Cartesian metaphysics; a storm being thereupon raised in the church, and his opinion condemned by a great many as false, heretical, and impious, it could not be avoided, but some drops fell upon the head of Mr. Bull also, or rather rebounded from Dr. Sherlock upon him; none being very willing directly to meddle with one that had so honourably acquitted himself, his very enemies being judges, and who was so strongly fenced in, that there was no getting at him, but by cutting through a whole troop of *veterans*. But all considering readers easily discerned, that though he asserted three real, distinct, coequal, coeternal persons, (not in one singular and solitary, but) in one numerical nature and essence, not taking away the subordination of the second and third to the first person; yet he did neither own the Platonic inequality of Dr. Cudworth, nor the Sabellian composition and union of others, nor the novel and philosophical explications of Dr. Sherlock. Dr. Cudworth had asserted the Son to be God, in the very

same sense which Dr. Clarke hath done: and that the Son and Spirit may have the divine attributes, such as omnipotence, omniscience, and the rest ascribed to them; but that they are not omnipotent and omniscient, *ad intra*, of themselves, (and so of the rest,) but only by means of the Father's concurrence. Also Dr. Sherlock had introduced new terms without and against the authority of the church, and had mixed philosophy with divinity, in a matter not to be decided but by revelation only; and so expressed himself, as to seem to destroy the unity of the Deity, and to make himself suspected of tritheism by more than a few; though our learned author in his *Discourse of the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity*, &c. seems to clear him from that charge. And besides these, several others were for framing schemes out of their own heads, concerning this ineffable mystery, and so departed from the old trodden way, which is so plainly described in this excellent treatise [f]. 1685.

How adversaries as well as friends applauded this performance.

But notwithstanding all this, it was no sooner printed at Oxford, but it was received with an universal applause, as it greatly deserved: and the fame thereof soon spread itself into foreign parts, where it was highly valued by the best judges of antiquity, though of different persuasions. Hence an *Unitarian* writer, who calleth himself a *disinterested person*, though he hath given his *judgment* against it, with all the strength and learning that he was

[f] [In the year 1718, i. e. nine years after Bull's death, and thirty-three years after the appearance of the *Defensio*, Dr. Whitby published a work, entitled, *Disquisitiones modestæ in clarissimi Bulli Defensionem Fidei Nicænæ*, an account of which work may be seen in Waterland, vol. ii. p. 282. &c.]

1685. master of, yet was obliged by the irresistible evidence of truth, to give this following character, both of the book and author, viz. "[g] After Dr. Cudworth, "came Dr. Bull, author of the *Defence of the Ni-* "*cene Faith*, a book that has rendered the writer "of it very famous, not in England only or chiefly, "but beyond the water. It is composed in a style "most truly Latin, with much vivacity of expres- "sion, with great vigour and subtilty of thought: "in short, it is worthy of the noble argument of "which he treats. This author having studied the "Fathers with an application, diligence, and ob- "servation, almost peculiar to *him*, perceived that "the schools have departed from that notion of the "Trinity believed and professed by some of the "principal Fathers." Thus far he; which was surely confession enough from an enemy. But the answerer of this Socinian pamphlet, who is supposed to be Dr. Sherlock himself, in a discourse entitled, *The Distinction between Real and Nominal Trinitarians examined*, &c. hath made this reflection hereupon; that this was done out of pure artifice only, not out of any good-will for our author, or disinterestedness between the two contending parties, but "[h] that all that this Socinian intended by "bringing Dr. Bull into the fray, was to follow the "blow the animadverter, [Dr. South,] and the Ox- "ford decree had given to a *Trinity of distinct*, "*proper, subsisting, living, intelligent persons*, "(which is all that Dr. Bull or the dean assert,) by

[g] The Judgment of a disinterested Person, concerning the Controversy about the blessed Trinity, depending between Dr. South and Dr. Sherlock, 4to. an. 1696.

[h] Page 4.

" their charge of *tritheism*, which he hoped would 1685.
" be a sufficient answer to that otherwise unanswer-
" able book; and together with Dr. Bull would con-
" fute all the Fathers at once, on whose authority
" he so much relies, and to whom he perpetually
" appeals; for no Christian must hearken to those
" men, whatever their authority be, did they really
" (as they are unjustly charged) preach three Gods;
" and thus he thinks he has got rid of all antiquity,
" and of the *tritheistic Trinity* with it." But whatsoever might be his design, and this seems very probable which here is alleged against him, it must still be confessed, that nothing but the truth forced this character from him. And indeed this book was so universally applauded, that it brought over to the author several who were before his enemies, or that at least were doubtful, whether he was orthodox in the faith. The university of Oxford accounted it an honour to them, to have so learned and useful a treatise printed at their press, and written by one who had been formerly a member of their body, but was driven away by the wickedness of the times, as hath been already remarked. Wherefore they thought it incumbent upon them to confer what honour they could upon him, as shall be afterwards related, who by this judicious and elaborate defence of the catholic faith, had contributed so much to the honour, not only of the university itself, but of the church and nation, in foreign churches and nations.

LXII. In the year 1690, the bishop of Meaux, whose *History of the Variations*, &c [i]. had been The bishop of Meaux sends mon-

[i Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes. 1688.]

1685. attacked in defence of the protestants, (but especially of the French Calvinists,) by monsieur Jurieu, with too little deference to the primitive Fathers of the church, set forth a discourse against this his adversary, on purpose to prove, that his way of proceeding did effectually tend to the very undermining of Christianity, or at least to the establishment of Socinianism; and that it was a method condemned, not only by the Roman catholics, but by the most judicious protestant writers, such as Dr. Bull in particular. And having in his aforesaid history made honourable mention of our most learned author, as before was taken notice of; he upon this fresh occasion frequently maketh his appeal to him, and sendeth his readers to satisfy themselves, in the collection of testimonies gathered by him out of the Fathers. In one place he saith, "That I may have no occa-" sion, my brethren, to defend against you the doc-" trine of the first ages, concerning the eternal gene-" ration of the Son, if your minister hath any doubt " hereof, and is not willing to read the learned trea-" tises of a [k] father Thomassin, who so profoundly " explains the ancient traditions, or the learned pre-" face of a [l] father Petau, which is the elucidation " and key of his whole doctrine, concerning this " matter, I send him to [m] BULL, that learned Eng-" lish protestant, the treatise, where he hath so well " defended the Fathers, who lived before the council " of Nice. You must either renounce the faith of " the holy Trinity, which God forbid, or presuppose

sieur Jurieu to Dr. Bull, for the sense of the Fathers about the Trinity.

[k] Dogmata Theolog. Thomass. tom. iii.

[l] Petav. Pref. tom. ii. Theolog. Dogm.

[m] Premier Avertisement aux Protestants sur les Lettres du Ministre Jurieu contre *L'Histoire des Variations*. §. XXV.

" with me that this author hath reason." For monsieur Jurieu, by endeavouring to find *variations* in the ancient Fathers, and treading in the steps of Dailée, did the cause of Christianity in general more hurt, than he did his own good by it. For if, according to him, the primitive Christians did not believe [n] the eternity of the Son, or the immutability of the divine essence, or the equality of the second and third persons with the first, or the coeternity of them all three; or if they were so ignorant of the mystery of the incarnation, and knew not even the unity and perfection of God, known to the very pagans by the light of nature, and were so far from understanding the Scriptures, that they did not read them; and if they, even the most famous Fathers of the three first centuries, were such poor and paltry divines as he represents them, and could be guilty, not only of such gross ignorance, but also of the most capital errors and heresies, there must soon be an end of Christian faith and doctrine, and all must terminate in deism or natural religion. For confutation therefore of all these heavy charges against these ancient witnesses of our religion, the learned and judicious defence of the Ante-Nicene *Fathers* by this our author is rightly appealed to, for the sake of our common Christianity, in which all equally are concerned. 1685.

An instance how much Dr. Bull's book was esteemed by Romanists and protestants.

But here it is very remarkable, that our author's book was in such esteem abroad, both with Romanists and protestants, that even monsieur Jurieu himself contended, no less than the bishop his adversary, to have him on his side, saying, *that Bull's*

[n] Sect. 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16.

1685. *observations and his, were as like as an egg to an egg*, concerning the generation of the Son of God. But the bishop of Meaux replied to monsieur Jurieu, that without entering into all the particulars, it was enough to let him know, that he, the bishop, had *taken from him in one word all the ancients, by sending him to* BULL; as from whom he might *learn the true explication of all their passages*. This he did in his very *first advertisement*, written against this famous French minister and refugee. But Jurieu cared not, it seems, to confess, that either our author was favourable to the side of his adversary in this dispute, or that so learned a protestant as Dr. Bull should carry away from him all his authors together at once, without leaving him so much as one of them: and therefore would pretend in his *Avis a M. Beauval*, that there was the nearest agreement betwixt his and our author's sentiments, as to all these matters, but more particularly as to the theology of the Fathers, concerning the nativity and coming forth of the Son of God, for the creation of the world. Whereby he most evidently injured Dr. Bull, and at the same time also exposed himself to his adversary, when there was no need for it.

Mr. Bull twenty-seven years rector of Suddington.

LXIII. Mr. Bull wrote and published this his learned and judicious treatise, of the *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, during the time he was rector of Suddington, where he had now continued about twenty-seven years[o]; and for twenty years of that

[o] [He told to Dr. Parsons, chancellor of the diocese, a remarkable instance of the longevity of his parishioners: he had buried

time had no other preferment in the church, but those two parishes united, after the manner that hath been already related; the income whereof did not amount to above 100*l.* a year, clear of taxes. He found himself very early under a necessity of making such a provision of books, as might enable him to carry on his theological studies, which cost him several hundred pounds, for he was placed at a distance from any public library, which is a great advantage to those who can enjoy such a benefit. His family grew numerous by a large stock of children, who were to be maintained and educated; his friends were always received with great hospitality, and the poor with a charity that bordered upon profuseness; with all this he had several great losses, and had no great talent in that wisdom, which consisteth in managing an estate to the best advantage; by these means he was reduced to great straits, and by degrees was under a necessity of selling his patrimonial estate, to maintain himself in the service of the church. But yet his difficult circumstances never prevailed upon him to trouble the world with complaints concerning them, neither did he abandon himself to discontent, which upon such occasions preyeth upon worldly minds; none of these things moved him from pursuing his great design of serving the church of God, and adorning his profession; and it pleased the good providence of God, remarkably to reward his Christian trust and affiance; for when he was at the lowest ebb, he was unexpectedly preferred to a very good living. 1685.

ten persons, whose united ages amounted to one thousand years, and two of them were one hundred and twenty-three years of age each.]

1685. It was in the year 1685, when Mr. Bull was presented to the rectory of Avening in Gloucestershire, a large parish, about eight miles in compass, the income whereof is about 200*l.* a year. The patron of it is Philip Sheppard, of Minching Hampton, esq. a very worthy gentleman, eminent for his probity, sobriety, and charity, and for his great usefulness in his country; for he not only administers justice with great impartiality, but endeavoureth to reconcile all quarrels and dissensions among his neighbours, before they break into a flame, and before his neighbours lose their money and their temper in legal prosecutions, in which commonly they both suffer. It happened that, when this living became vacant, Mr. Sheppard and Mr. Bull, with some other friends, were at Astrop-Wells in Northamptonshire, drinking those mineral waters for the advantage of their health; and they were even together with some other gentlemen, when Mr. Sheppard received the news of it. Upon which he acquainted the company, that he had a very good living to dispose of, and reckoned up all those qualifications he expected in the person upon whom he should bestow it; which so exactly agreed to Mr. Bull's character, that every one present plainly perceived that Mr. Sheppard designed to determine that preferment in Mr. Bull's favour. But he had too much humility to make the application to himself, and therefore took not the least notice of it. Some time after, Mr. Bull withdrew with some of the company to walk in the garden, which opportunity Mr. Sheppard took to declare, that he had on purpose given those hints, that Mr. Bull might be encouraged to apply to him for it; but finding his modesty was too great to

Preferred to Avening in Gloucestershire.

make that step, he was resolved to offer it to him, who had more merit to deserve it, than assurance to ask for it: which accordingly he did, as soon as Mr. Bull returned into the room; which he received with all those acknowledgments which were due for so good a living to so generous a patron. 1685.

His natural modesty where his interest was concerned.

And here it will not be improper to observe, that Mr. Bull had in his natural temper a great modesty and backwardness in stirring for his secular interest; he endeavoured to deserve preferments, rather than to solicit for them; and his mind was so entirely taken up in his studies, and in the discharge of his pastoral duties, that he never found leisure to form schemes for his own advancement, and much less time to prosecute those methods, which are too frequently submitted to in order to obtain it. He often thanked God for this happy disposition that was placed in him, which he said had guarded him from many attempts, very unbecoming his holy function, and had secured to him great peace of mind, in the possession of what he enjoyed in the church, which, he said, divine Providence alone, and not his application, had procured for him. This he looked upon as the true Christian primitive way of being preferred, VIRTUTE AMBIRE NON FAVITORIBUS; and whenever he met with this modest and conscientious temper, he encouraged the person steadily to pursue his duty, and to depend upon God.

The state and condition of the parish when he entered upon it.

Upon his removing to Avening[p], one of his first cares was to rebuild the parsonage house, part whereof had been burnt down, sometime before he

[p His son-in-law, archdeacon Stephens, succeeded him as rector of Siddington.]

1685. became incumbent. This expense was very hard upon a person who was never beforehand with the world; but being necessary for the conveniency of his family, and the benefit of his successors, he cheerfully engaged in it. The people of his parish gave Mr. Bull, for some time, great trouble and uneasiness; there were many of them very loose and dissolute, and many more disaffected to the discipline and Liturgy of the Church of England. This state and condition of the parish did not discourage Mr. Bull from doing his duty, though it occasioned him many difficulties in the discharge of it; and he suffered many indignities and reproaches, with admirable patience and Christian fortitude, for not complying with those irregular practices, which had too long prevailed among them. But by steadiness and resolution, in performing his holy function according to the rubric, by his patient demeanor and prudent carriage, by his readiness to do them all offices of kindness, and particularly by his great charity to the poor, who in that place were very numerous, he did in the end remove all those prejudices which they had entertained against him, and reduced them to such a temper, as rendered his labours effectual among them. Insomuch, that they generally became constant in their attendance upon the public worship, and very decent in their behaviour at it; and what was effected with the greatest difficulty, they brought their children to be baptized at church; for when all other arguments failed, the assurance he gave them, that this was the practice of the reformed churches, persuaded them to comply without any farther scruple. Indeed the people by degrees, perceiving that he had no design upon them

but their own good, of which they frequently experimented several instances, their aversion was changed into love and kindness; and though at his first coming among them, they expressed a great deal of animosity and disrespect to his person and family, yet many years before he left them, they seemed highly sensible of their error, and gave many signal proofs of their hearty good-will towards him and them; and when he was promoted from this parish to the bishopric of St. David, no people could testify more concern and sorrow, than the parishioners did upon this occasion; for the loss of those advantages which they enjoyed by his living among them. And I am credibly informed, that to this day they never name him without expressions of gratitude and respect. 1685.

He keeps a curate, and his manner of using him.

For some time before his coming to Avening, he had made use of a curate to assist him in his parochial duties; but that help became now much more necessary, by reason of the largeness of his parish, and the ill state of his health, which he had very much impaired by his night studies, in which he had taken great delight during the vigour of his age. Yet notwithstanding this assistance, except he was prevented by sickness, he preached once every Lord's day, and read the prayers frequently himself the other part of the day, when his curate preached. He chose to divide after this manner the public administrations, that the people might not entertain a mean opinion of his curates, as if they were not qualified for the duties of the pulpit; and that they might have better thoughts of our excellent Liturgy, when they saw the parochial minister officiate himself. He very frequently condemned the *wicked practice* (as he called it) of those incumbents, who by their

1685. pride, selfishness, or neglect, give countenance to those fatal mistakes among the people. There was one use indeed he made of a curate, which will appear surprising, because I believe seldom or never practised, and that was to admonish him of his faults; the proposal was from himself, that they might agree from that time to tell one another freely, in love and privacy, what they observed amiss in each other: it is certain, this might help to regulate the conduct of his own life; but it had this peculiar advantage, that it gave him a handle to find fault without offence, with any thing that appeared wrong in his curate; for when the liberty was mutual, neither of them could be blamed for the use of it. I relate this circumstance with the more certainty, because I received the information of it from the worthy clergyman himself who was then his curate, and with whom this agreement was made.

1686. Mr. Bull preferred by archbishop Sancroft to the archdeaconry of Landaff, being his grace's option.

LXIV. He had not been long at Avening, before he was preferred to the archdeaconry of Landaff; for it appeareth by the register book of the chapter of that church, that Mr. Bull was installed archdeacon the 20th of June, 1686. This considerable post in the church was bestowed upon him by archbishop Sancroft, whose option it was; and purely in consideration of the great and eminent services he had done the church of God, by his learned and judicious works, as Dr. Bately, his grace's chaplain, expressed it, in a letter writ to Mr. Bull, by the order of his lord. The manner of Mr. Bull's receiving this honourable station in the church added very much to his reputation, because it was conferred upon him by an archbishop, who had a particular regard to the

merit of those he advanced, without any solicitation or application made by Mr. Bull himself. 1686.

His grace's character.

And indeed what could be expected less from so venerable a prelate, who had all those great abilities of learning and wisdom, of piety and integrity, joined with a prudent zeal for the honour of God, and the welfare and prosperity of the church, which qualified him for that elevated station wherein the providence of God had placed him; and yet at the same time was endowed with such large measures of mortification and self-denial, contempt of the world and passive courage, as enabled him, by the assistance of God's grace, with great composure of mind, to submit *to be deprived of all which he could not keep with a good conscience*, as it is expressed on the left side of his tomb, by his grace's order. And it is affirmed by those who had the honour to be better acquainted with him than I was, "That the most "greedy worldling never enjoyed half that solid "complacency in the most lucky and fortunate ac- "quisitions, as his grace did, in being reduced to "the mean circumstances of a private life." For after his deprivation, he retired into the country, the place of his nativity, at Fresingfield in Suffolk, where, full of piety and good works, as well as years, he died the 24th of November, 1693, in the 77th year of his age, and was buried in the churchyard of the aforesaid parish, against the south wall of the church, by his own appointment. It is certain that this great man had, in his very youth, been seasoned with sufferings; and in the flower of his age he refused both the covenant and the engagement; the taking of which were in those times necessary steps to preferment; though one oath was designed to

1686. propagate rebellion, and to destroy the church, and the other to support a cruel usurpation. But he chose to relinquish his interest in his native country, and submitted to a voluntary exile, rather than advance himself by the rewards of ungodliness, and own an unjust power. His virtue was uniform and of a piece; for when he was in his greatest elevation, he declined the commands of his lawful and rightful prince, rather than obey him to the prejudice of the true religion and the established laws, which are certainly the measures of the subject's obedience; yet he would not resist his sovereign to save both, because he apprehended the laws of the land, as well as the precepts of the Gospel, expressly forbid it; and chose rather to be deprived of all his honours and ecclesiastical revenues, than to violate his conscience, or stain the purity of those principles which he had always maintained and defended.

The nature of an option.

Having mentioned this preferment of the archdeaconry of Landaff, as the archbishop's option, I hope it will not be thought improper to add something concerning the nature of this archiepiscopal privilege, for the sake of such readers as are not much versed in matters of this nature; and because I have met with none of those writers who treat of ecclesiastical laws, that have touched upon it. And I the rather choose to insert it here, because I owe the knowledge I shall advance upon this subject to a conversation of archbishop Sancroft's, who is well known to have been admirably skilled in matters of this kind; though if the learned shall discover any mistakes in what I am about to relate in this matter, I am very willing to challenge them as my own; for they are certainly due to the imperfect manner

of receiving, what was, without doubt, delivered with great judgment and exactness. To explain therefore this privilege, the reader must know, that the archbishop of Canterbury hath a right, upon the promotion of every bishop in his grace's province, to choose any one ecclesiastical preferment, prebend, or benefice in the gift of such bishop, which is called the archbishop's option; which is even at the disposal of the executors of the archbishop, if the bishop that is promoted doth not die before the option becometh vacant. This prerogative is built upon immemorial custom; it having been found by archbishop Sancroft so acknowledged, in deeds dated above three hundred years ago. The ground of this right was the power the archbishop had to impose two persons of his own choice upon any of his suffragans, for their chaplains, upon their consecration; which persons, the respective bishops, at first, were obliged to maintain, by allowing them pensions, till they could supply them with preferments out of their own dioceses. This was looked upon as a great grievance to the bishops, and an increase of that necessary charge which attends their promotion; and these pensions were accounted a heavy burden, because the bishops were forced to part with their ready money to support strangers. The complaints of this matter being very frequent, it was at last accommodated after this manner, viz. That the bishop should by deed grant to the archbishop such a benefice or dignity in his diocese as he should name; but this grant did only bind the bishop who made it, and not his successors. To remove and supply this defect, archbishop Grindal did agree with the bishops, that they should make a grant for one 1686.

1686. and twenty years, but then, if that preferment did not fall vacant in that time, the grant was of no effect. Archbishop Whitgift carried this affair still farther, and brought the bishop to insert at least half a score preferments in their grants, reserving to himself a liberty to fix upon the first that became vacant. But after the statute of limitation of grants in queen Elizabeth's time, the method now established seems to have taken place.

The degree of doctor conferred on Mr. Bull by the university of Oxford.

While Mr. Bull was at Landaff, upon the nomination of bishop Fell, who thought it a shame that such a man should be suffered to lie any longer in obscurity, without any public notice taken of, or character conferred upon him, it was moved in a full convocation at Oxford, by the regius professor of divinity, Dr. Jane, That as an acknowledgment of the singular honour done that university, and of the lasting service done to the whole church by Mr. George Bull, through his excellent book of *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, lately printed and published among them; and for a perpetual testimony of their esteem and favour for a person of his merits, he should be admitted presently to the degree and title of a doctor in divinity, notwithstanding that he had never taken any academical degree, not so much as in arts. To which the convocation of that learned body most readily consented, not being able to refuse, to one who had so admirably defended the ancient doctors of the catholic church, an honorary title, which had been deserved by him on more than one account; and the conferring whereof would be no less honourable to themselves than him, by allowing him a name in their *Fasti*, among the *modern* doctors of the *Anglican church*, which the universal

suffrage of the learned world, must even without this their authentic declaration have advanced him unto. Whereupon the bishop writ a letter, to thank Mr. Bull for the noble present he had made him in that immortal work, and to acquaint him at the same time with the honour which the university designed him: and the professor writ also another letter to him, giving him an account of what had passed in convocation, with respect to him, in consideration of his great and eminent service for the church by his last book; and pressing him to come therefore to Oxford, that he might there receive the tokens of their esteem, and be admitted to the highest degree of honour that was in their power to confer on any. Mr. Bull received these letters at Landaff, where he had just taken possession of the archdeaconry, which archbishop Sancroft had bestowed upon him; whereupon he came to Oxford about the beginning of July, that he might be present at the act, in order for perfecting the said degree; and upon the tenth of the said month was created doctor, in the year MDCLXXXVI, without the payment of the usual fees. 1686.

LXV. I have already, in other parts of this Life, given so particular an account of Dr. Bull's method in governing his parish, and of his manner in performing the duties of his holy function, that it is not necessary to add any thing upon that subject, farther than what of that nature appears to have been peculiar to his conduct at Avening. Now the state and condition of that parish having been as I have before related, one means he fixed upon in order to reform it, was to have a sermon in his church every

He establishes a sermon on Thursday in every week, with catechising.

1686. Thursday; the design whereof was, farther to instruct the people, who were very ignorant, in the principles of the Christian religion; a method which was not unlikely to prevail upon them. For when they found him so zealous, as to do more than they thought he was obliged to, they were ready to conclude, that their welfare was the great motive which influenced him; and to make this more effectual, the children were on the same day catechised by the curate, which still tended to the instruction of those of riper years: and yet, to bring this good design to a greater perfection, he always distributed on such days five shillings among the poor, that they might be encouraged to attend the church at such seasons. How long he continued this practice it is not very certain, though there is no doubt but that he pursued it for some time.

Very scrupulous in signing testimonials.

It is required by the 34th canon, that the candidates of holy orders, among other preliminaries necessary for ordination, shall bring sufficient testimonials of their sober life and conversation, from such as have known and lived near them for three years before. Now upon this account there was frequent application made to Dr. Bull, during his residence in this parish, and for some time before, to procure his hand to testimonials; for his fame and reputation were become so considerable, that the characters he gave had great weight with those to whom they were addressed. But he was very nice as to this particular; many he refused who importuned him for his recommendation, and he took some pains to satisfy himself, before he would pretend to satisfy others. It hath been rightly observed by my lord Bacon, "That nothing is thought so easy a re-

" quest to a great person, as his letter, and yet if it 1686-94.
" be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his re-
" putation." For it reflects upon his understanding, if he maketh a wrong judgment; and if he knoweth that the person doth not deserve the character given him, he is certainly liable to a worse censure. But where the church is concerned, the consequences are much more fatal; and therefore it is to be wished, that all persons who are applied to upon this account to sign testimonials would be very conscientious in this matter; that so a good method may not be rendered ineffectual, by a very mischievous complaisance, of which a strict account must be given at the last day, since bishops the best disposed to do their duty may be imposed upon by eminent hands.

He suppresses the observation of a wake in his parish.

One great contest he had with the disorderly people of Avening related to the observation of a feast, which was attended the day following with extravagant revels. It is true, that the piety of our ancestors did set apart one day in every year, to commemorate the dedication of the public place of worship, and every church almost had its anniversary; and good laws were enacted, that they might be both solemnly and orderly kept. These days thus established were called *wakes* from the Saxon word, which signifies to *watch*. But the observation of them degenerating into luxury, they grew very grievous to all sober people, and the good reason of their institution did not make amends for the obstinate abuse of them. In order to rectify these disorders, Dr. Bull appeared against them in the pulpit, and exposed the folly and madness of them, with a true Christian courage: for he did not fear to displease men, when the honour of God and the good

1686-94. of souls were at stake. But when neither his instructions nor his exhortations, both in public and private, could prevail upon the generality of them to observe that regularity, which the laws of Christianity require from all its professors, he procured an order of sessions to suppress it; which effectually put an end to it many years before he left the place; but it cost him much time and labour; though it was usual with him never to give over any thing of that nature, till he had attained the good end he at first proposed.

He preaches against popery in the reign of king James.

During the reign of king James the Second, when our apprehensions of the increase of popery were no ways groundless, but founded in those measures, which we apparently saw were taken to advance and promote it; then it was that Dr. Bull thought it his duty chiefly to lay open the errors of the church of Rome, and he then took all opportunities, both in his own parish and in other public places where he was called to preach, as at Bath and Gloucester, and in a visitation sermon at Hampton, to convince the people how much they would hazard their salvation, if ever they suffered themselves by sly arts and insinuations to be drawn into the Roman communion; wherein they had made many additions to the primitive doctrines of Christianity, and had required their novelties to be received as necessary articles of faith, though the holy Scriptures and primitive antiquity were silent concerning them, and in some points expressly against them. These errors in doctrine he aggravated by considerable corruptions in her public offices; which were not only in an unknown tongue, and consequently no ways edifying to the people, but in some parts

ere addressed to saints and angels, contrary to 1686-94.
ripture, and the practice of the primitive church.
must be owned, that Dr. Bull was indeed a very
ink asserter of some primitive truths, upon which
e built several errors of the church of Rome; and
e sermons, which are now printed, will furnish the
ader with several instances of this remark. Now
nong those who cannot or will not distinguish the
undation from the hay and stubble that is built
on it, we must not wonder if he was thought too
uch inclining to the church of Rome; which un-
st censure was confirmed by his exact conformity
the rules of the church of England, in a place
here the people were under great prejudices, both
ainst her discipline and Liturgy. But this ca-
mny hath been thrown upon the greatest lights of
ir church, and upon one of the best men that ever
ayed the sceptre of Great Britain, and will be
e fate of many more, who shall zealously contend
r the primitive doctrines and discipline of Christi-
ity; and surely, if that excellent prince, king
arles the First, and that primitive prelate, arch-
shop Laud, could not escape the load of such ma-
ious and groundless imputations, it is not to be
ondered if others, who pursue their steps, and
ead in their paths of religion, though they move
a much inferior sphere, meet with the same oblo-
y and reproach which they so severely felt. But
t in the day of any trial, the men of this charac-
r will be found the best defenders of the church
England, and the boldest champions against the
rruptions of the church of Rome. How little Dr.
ull deserved this reflection, appeared now by his
urage and resolution, in attacking those pernicious

1686-94. errors, which he apprehended might gain ground by the authority and favour of a prince upon the throne, who was unhappily engaged in that communion. For Dr. Bull, like a vigilant and conscientious pastor, warned his people of the approaching danger, supplied them with arguments for the hour of temptation, confirmed them in the principles of the protestant religion, and made them sensible how much it was their duty, rather to expose themselves to any temporal sufferings, than embrace such principles and practices, as tended to hazard the salvation of their immortal souls.

He was made a justice of peace after the revolution.

Some time after the revolution, Dr. Bull was put into the commission of the peace, in which he continued, with some little interruption, till he was made a bishop. The main inducement, which prevailed upon him to act in a secular post, was, that he might have an opportunity to put the laws in execution against immorality and profaneness; that those whom he could not convince by his arguments, nor persuade by his affectionate way of enforcing them, might be terrified into better manners by the sword of justice which was put into his hands. To this purpose, though he declined meddling in other matters, which no ways were subservient to his own profession, yet he was vigorous in suppressing vice and immorality, and by the help of some clergymen in his neighbourhood, who procured him informations against common swearers, drunkards, and profaners of the Lord's day, he was very successful. I know this work of reformation of manners, as under the care and management of a society for that purpose, lieth under some prejudices, even with sober and understanding persons; but I believe it

chiefly proceedeth from some false stories, which have been raised on purpose to discredit the undertaking; which calumnies and slanders having been too easily believed, have thrown contempt upon the whole work, so good in itself, and so necessary for the welfare of the community; for I cannot apprehend what service the best laws can do the public, if the execution of them is discountenanced. All that can be desired in this case is, that an impartial inquiry may be made into such reports as bear hard upon the proceedings of the society; and I am very much inclined to think, that generally they will be found false; which opinion I ground upon the experience I have made of this kind myself; I am sure they cannot be justly condemned, till they have been admitted to a fair hearing; and if some little indiscretion should be discovered in the management of some, there is no reason that should be made a handle to disparage all such useful proceedings. It must be owned, that it requireth great courage and resolution, to get the better of that opposition, which a man is sure to meet with in affairs of this nature, from the world and the Devil. It requireth a zeal according to knowledge, to act in this matter from a principle of religion, without any mixture of malice or self-interest; and great prudence and circumspection is necessary to determine the best manner of doing this good work; but above all, the strictness of their own lives must support that zeal, which is shewn for the reformation of others. And I have great reason to think, that these excellent qualifications have not been wanting in several gentlemen, who have consulted together, to give a check to those disorderly walkers that 1686-94.

1686-94. abound among us. I am sure they have been at great charges to support the expenses of legal proceedings, and to defend constables from being maliciously and falsely prosecuted, and to make them some reparation for the unreasonable abuses they have met with upon such occasions; though they who have lost their lives in discharge of their oath and duty, by endeavouring to detect and suppress vice and immorality, as it is certain some have done, must expect their reward at a higher tribunal. It is true indeed, that by the blessing of God upon their vigorous proceedings, great numbers of lewd persons have been brought to legal punishment, and others have been forced to abscond, in order to escape the terror of the laws; by which means, several sinners have been recovered to a sense of their follies, and reclaimed from their wicked practices; at least bad examples have been removed out of sight, and public scandals have not been so frequent. Which is sufficient to entitle all those, who labour in this difficult province, to the prayers and good wishes and substantial encouragement of all those who are concerned for the welfare of their country, and have the honour of God at heart.

1694. His *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ* written against Episcopius.

LXVI. In the year 1694, Dr. Bull, while rector of Avening, published his *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c. which was printed at Oxford, and written in defence of the *Anathema*, as his former book had been of the *Faith*, pronounced at the first council of Nice. The occasion of writing this treatise was, that in his reading the 34th chapter of the fourth book of the Institutions of Episcopius, where he treateth concerning the *necessity* of be-

lieving the manner of the *divine filiation* of Jesus Christ, and putteth this question, "Whether the "fifth (and highest) manner of Christ's being the "Son of God be necessary to be known and be- "lieved, and whether they who deny the same are "to be excommunicated and anathematized?" he made some remarks hereupon for his own private use, and drew up an answer to the arguments of that learned writer, whereby he was persuaded, that the primitive catholics did not refuse communion with those that received not the article of the divine generation or filiation of Jesus Christ, if they acknowleged him to be the Son of God, by his miraculous conception of the Holy Ghost, by virtue of his mediatorial office, by his resurrection from the dead, and by his exaltation to sit at the right hand of God the Father. 1694.

His character of Episcopius, and his motives to write against him.

Episcopius, as our author hath observed, was a man of great natural parts, and more than commonly learned in many things; but he was one who very little consulted or cared for the writings of the ancient Fathers; yea, plainly despised them. Whence, writing against Wading the Jesuit, who made a mighty boast of the Fathers and councils, as if they were all generally on his side against the protestants, he took him up short, telling him once for all, that he was mistaken in thinking to draw him into such an endless maze and labour, at which he must work like a mill-horse, for the sake only of an empty name: and that he did not envy those, who had a mind to be always roving and fluctuating in that ocean of councils and Fathers, and to be laying out upon them all their time and pains, the glory of being esteemed for their vast reading and

1694. capacious memory: for that he had no ambition in him after a fame for that, which cost so dear and signified so little. Wherefore he gave the Jesuit to understand, that he would deal with him with other sort of weapons, than those which he brought: and that because he did not think any great stress was to be laid upon the Fathers and councils, in the points controverted betwixt them, since they were equally challenged by both sides, he had resolved not to be at much pains about them, nor to purchase with so much sweat, that which he might afterwards come to *repent of*. But it were much to have been wished, that he had here excepted at least the Fathers and writers of the three first centuries of the church. For most certainly, as our author hath well noted hereupon, had he expended more of his time and study in reading of these, he would herein have taken pains *not to be repented of*, either by himself or the church of Christ. For it is his judgment, that so learned and good a man would never have undertaken so far the patronage of the Arians and Socinians, as to excuse their doctrine concerning the person of our Saviour, by the pretended judgment and authority of the primitive church, as if it were but *erroneous* only and not *heretical* also. This Dr. Bull could no ways bear to hear of, who is positive, that it may be demonstrated from the present remains which we have of church antiquity, that all those churches in the most early ages, which are in this case appealed to, did agree to condemn the same, as a *most pernicious and deadly heresy*, and that the Fathers of the council of Nice did no more than declare herein the sentiment of the whole catholic and apostolic church, or of all

the several particular churches from which they came, and which they represented, by that damnatory clause, which was added by them to their confession of faith. 1694.

The form of the anathema pronounced in that council, which seemed too harsh and uncharitable to Episcopius, but which Dr. Bull hath vindicated from all the objections and prejudices raised against it, is this; "[o] Them that say, that *there was a time* "*when he was not*, or that *before he was born he* "*was not*, or that *he was made out of things that* "*are not*, or that *he is of another substance or es-* "*sence*; and them that maintain, that the Son of "God is *created*, or *convertible*, or *changeable*; all "these doth the catholic and apostolical church ana-"thematize." But this answer of Dr. Bull to Episcopius, in defence of the said anathema of the council, as the judgment of the whole catholic church in the purest ages of it, was not written and published so much against Episcopius himself, or against his disciple Curcellæus, who hath written a [p] dissertation also much to the same purpose, or against any of the learned abroad, whether Remonstrants or Unitarians; as against some at home among us, to whom Dr. Bull giveth the name of *mediators*, for joining together two extremes; who in their writings have made use of the arguments of Episcopius, Curcellæus, and even of Socinus himself for this end. Against such modern reconcilers as these, who stood

The *anathema* of the council of Nice defended against him and others.

[o] Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἦν ποτε, ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν ἢ τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

[p] De Necessitate Cognitionis Christi.

1694. indifferent for the truth, and were strangers to the principles of catholic communion, it appeareth, that this treatise was principally levelled by the author. Which he designed should serve for a supplement to his Defence of the Faith declared in the council of Nice. And so indeed it is, and a vindication of that Defence to that purpose.

The main occasion and design of publishing this book.

It containeth the judgment of the catholic church of the three first centuries, concerning the *necessity of believing*, that our Lord Jesus Christ is true God. In his premonition to the reader, the author hath given us an account, as hath been hinted, of the occasion and design of his engaging against that learned writer in this present treatise. Which he hath done after so clear and distinct a manner, as very little more, besides what I have already taken notice of, need be said upon it. I shall only therefore here observe, that about the same time, and for some few years before, there were certain discourses and pamphlets printed in English, which, under the plausible pretences of moderation and charity, were for breaking down all the fences of orthodox and catholic communion: and so for leaving the most fundamental articles of the Christian faith perfectly indifferent, according as every one shall be inclined to believe more or less.

With this design, a book, called *The Naked Gospel*, was printed at Oxford in 1690, the main subject whereof was, the simplicity of the Gospel, which our Lord and his apostles preached, as necessary to be believed; with some account of the alterations or additions, which after-ages either made, or are pretended to have made in it; and of the advantages and damages which have thereupon ensued to the

catholic church: it is well known, that this book was condemned, and ordered to be publicly burnt, by the convocation of the university of Oxford, upon the 19th of August the same year; and there were two large answers to it printed the next year, the one written by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Long, B. D. and one of the prebendaries of St. Peter's at Exeter, and the other by Mr. William Nichols, M. A. who was a fellow of Merton, and then chaplain to Ralph earl of Montague; to which last was added, a short history of Socinianism, by the same author: and on the other side there was published, *An Historical Vindication of The Naked Gospel*, which was either written originally by the famous Monsieur Le Clerc, or else by him translated into his Life of Eusebius of Cæsarea, as by comparing them will easily be seen. There were also spread abroad about the same time several small Socinian tracts, as *The Fire continued at Oxford*, and others, which under the same pretences of the simplicity of the gospel, and mutual forbearance, carried on the same design, and used much the same arguments as Episcopius had done. There was also published soon after, *An earnest and compassionate Suit for Forbearance, to the learned Writers of some Controversies at present; by a melancholy Stander-by*; by which *learned Writers* he declared, that he principally meant Dr. Sherlock and Dr. South. Whereto Dr. Sherlock returned an answer with a great deal of saltness, in his *Apology for writing against the Socinians*. To which the former presently replied, calling his book, *The Antapology of the melancholy Stander-by; in answer to the dean of St. Paul's late book, falsely styled*, An Apology for writing against the Soci- 1694.

1694. nians, &c. which produced, *A Defence of the dean of St. Paul's Apology*, &c. *in answer to the Antapologist:* and so this debate ended between the dean and the stander-by.

As for the Historical Vindication before mentioned, Dr. Bull thought himself a little more particularly concerned therein, because there is inserted in it a pretty large account of the Arian controversy, and of the management of the contending sides before, and at the great council of Nice; with the history of a great many facts, somewhat otherwise, than by him had been represented in his *Defence* of that council. Wherefore he resolved to take some notice of the contents hereof, both in this present treatise of the *Judgment* of the *Catholic Church*, and in another of the *Primitive Tradition*, but with very little notice of the book itself, as not deserving it in his opinion. The multitude then, of such sort of pamphlets and tracts, was a main occasion of his printing at this time this most learned piece: and his design therein was undoubtedly to limit the terms of catholic communion to the orthodox faith, against the *latitudinarian* notions of the times.

A short abstract of its contents and method.

LXVII. He hath made a collection in this treatise of testimonies from the primitive Fathers, which argue not only the truth of the divinity of our blessed Saviour, but also the *necessity* for a Christian to believe the same, in order to be saved: and thus the precarious assertion of Episcopius and his disciples is confuted and overturned by our author. Then he hath next given us an historical account of those primitive heretics who first opposed the catholic and apostolical tradition, concerning the incarnation of

the Son of God, and the two natures in the person of Christ: and at large justified the charge against the Cerinthians and the Ebionites, for detracting from the dignity of our Lord, in answer to the objections of Dr. Zuicker and others. So that as in the *Defence of the Nicene Faith* there are the witnesses of the three first centuries for the Trinity and incarnation of the eternal Word considered; in the *Judgment of the Catholic Church*, there are the witnesses of those three centuries also *against* those doctrines examined, and balanced with the former. And farther, he hath given such an account of the ancient creeds, and more particularly of the first and most ancient creed of all, and the explications thereof, which are found in Irenæus and Tertullian, as it will be very hard after him to add any further light to that matter. For all what the elder Vossius[q], with so much pains and judgment, had collected upon this subject, with what our most learned and pious archbishop Usher[r] had also written hereupon, after mature deliberation upon the whole, will be found applied with great skill, and set in a very advantageous light, for removing all manner of doubts concerning the ancient judgment of the Christian church, both eastern and western, concerning these matters. And therefore the creed, which is commonly called the *Apostles' Creed*, and which evidently was the creed of the Latin and western church, is here so explained and defended, according to most ancient testimonies, as wholly to 1694.

[q] [*Dissertatio de 3 Symbolis, Apostolico, Athanasiano, et Constantinopolitano.* 1642.]

[r] [*Tractatus de Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo Apostolico vetere et aliis fidei formulis.* 1647 et 1660.]

1694. take away the edge of those arguments, which both Episcopius and Sandius, with the English Unitarians, have thence drawn to serve their hypothesis.

In the handling of this subject he is pretty large, and undertaketh to demonstrate these four propositions or theses; viz. "I. That the Apostolical Creed "(so called,) however conformable to the apostolical "doctrine, yet was not dictated by the apostles "themselves, in that form and method which we "have it in at this day; but that it was properly "the creed of the Roman church, which received its "completion and perfection in that church about "four hundred years or more after Christ, the "churches of the east using all that time another "creed. II. That the ancient church of Rome had "reason to use, and did accordingly use, a shorter "and more succinct creed than that which the "eastern churches were under a necessity of using; "forasmuch as these were disturbed with all manner "of heresies, but in the Roman church there was no "heresy started up, which adventured to expound "her more brief confession, otherwise than according "to the orthodox and catholic meaning, and the genuine sense of the church. III. That in the Roman (or Apostolic) Creed there is truly contained a "profession of the divine generation of Christ in "those words, *And I believe in Jesus Christ his* "*only Son*. IV. That in the creed or rule of faith, "which obtained in the most ancient churches of "the east before the first council of Nice, this divine "eternal generation, or most peculiar manner of the "*Sonship* of our blessed Saviour, is delivered and "declared."

The first thesis is so learnedly defended by the great Vossius, that all the critics in general, both of the Roman and protestant communions, have since the publication of his most famous book concerning *the three* Creeds herein with him concurred, and rested in his determination. Dr. Bull, among the rest, concluded the arguments there brought to be demonstrative in this case, and to need therefore no farther confirmation. And indeed the English Socinians, by their nibbling at them, in opposition chiefly to Dr. Bull, have but thereby contributed the more to the establishing the truth of the discovery which Vossius had made, and the exposing of their own weakness and ignorance, in researches of this nature. The second and third of these theses he hath fully explained and defended: and hath, on this occasion, with great accurateness, considered all the several *modes of divine filiation*, which are declared by Episcopius, in order to a right and thorough stating of the question betwixt them; and clearly answered the arguments brought by him, for understanding the divine generation of our Lord, as he is the *only-begotten* of the Father, in any inferior sense. Under the *last theses* he hath discoursed with abundance of learning upon the old oriental rule of faith, or the most ancient creed that is extant of the Jewish Christians, being the *Hierosolymitan Creed*, which in the earliest and purest ages of the church was explained by the catechists in their catechetical lectures, throughout the churches of Palestine and the East, as appeareth from the practice of St. Cyril, when he was a catechist in the church of Jerusalem, whereof he was created afterwards bishop, at or about the middle of the fourth century; and as 1694.

1694. is confirmed also by the confession and testimony of another bishop out of Palestine, when sitting in the council of Nice, even no less a man than the celebrated Eusebius of Cæsarea, who hath transcribed the very words of the *Hierosolymitan Creed*, touching the article of the Son of God, in the profession of his faith delivered in unto the Fathers of that council, (one small variation admitted into their symbol only excepted,) according to what he had been instructed, when a catechumen of that church of apostolical foundation. The antiquity of this creed is here justified by most solid arguments; and the catechetical exposition, which generally passeth under the name of St. Cyril, is vindicated to be his, from the objections which some critics have raised against it. Each particular article of it is examined, and upon a most careful examination, both the whole, and all the parts thereof, are found to be agreeable to the ancient creeds and confessions, before the general councils of Nice and Constantinople. The creed itself, as we find it commented upon by that holy doctor of the church, is as followeth, viz.

The Hierosolymitan Creed.

I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, only-begotten, born of the Father before all worlds, true God, by whom all things were made; incarnate and made man, crucified and buried; but who rose again from the dead on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father: and who shall come to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be

no end: and in the Holy Ghost the Comforter, who hath spoken by the prophets: and in the baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins: and in one holy catholic church: and in the resurrection of the flesh: and in the life everlasting. Amen. 1694.

A farther account of the method and argument of this book.

This is the creed expounded by that ancient bishop of Jerusalem, and defended by Dr. Bull, to be more ancient than those creeds from which some pretend that it was borrowed: yea, attested to by the very Arians themselves, as he hath shewn by several of their own confessions; and by their very appeals to evangelical and apostolical tradition; whence he aptly concludeth them to be *self-condemned*, by what they themselves have owned to have been delivered down to them from the beginning. And it is observable here, that as the church of Jerusalem was, without controversy, the most ancient of all the oriental churches; and the common creed of that church probably not much less ancient: so the Arians, as coming out from the oriental Christians, did generally frame all their confessions of faith, as near to that rule of faith, which had been received in their churches from the beginning, as they could; and consequently to that of Jerusalem, as did Eusebius, when he was thought too much to favour that side. Now upon the whole matter, this is the conclusion, That since it is agreed upon by the *Arians* and *catholics*, that by the rule of faith delivered to the churches from the beginning, all were bound "to believe in the only-begotten Son "of God, begotten of God the Father before all "worlds, very God, [or perfect God,] by whom all

1694. "things were made;" there can be no other difficulty remaining, but to know which side doth best interpret this rule, that is, most agreeably to the obvious sense of the words, and the received interpretation of the church: and he hath made it very manifest, that only the catholics did hold the genuine sense of this rule, by believing the Son to be of the same nature and essence with the Father, most truly God; and that the Arians were very wide from the truth, by conceiving him to be a creature, and made out of nothing, and so no other than a *vicarious God*, or a second and inferior God. The rule of faith being therefore rightly interpreted by the catholics, as he hath proved, and as Episcopius himself doth not disown, he hath thence inferred an assertion directly contrary to that of Episcopius[s].

[s It was about this time that the following letter was written by Dr. Bull to Nelson, and which is preserved in the British Museum. It does not contain any thing of importance: but so few of his letters being preserved, the reader will perhaps not be sorry to have it published.

Holburn, London, Aug. 6th, —94.

WORTHY SIR,

I WAS much troubled, when lately I understood by my sister Gregory from Mr. Hanger's family, that you never received any answer to your obliging letter, which about a year agoe (with two pamphlets) you sent me. I doe assure you that as soon as I could have leisure cursorily to peruse those pamphlets, I wrote a brief answer to your letter and them, and delivered it to the post with my own hand. I directed my letter to be left for you with madam Nelson, at her house in Throgmorton-street, behind the old Exchange. Of this I thought good to inform you, that you may not think me guilty of so much ill nature and ill breeding too, as to slight so worthy a person and friend as you are, than whom I scarce know any one in the world I have a greater respect and (if you will admitt of that friendly word) love for. I have sent you, together with this, a Latin treatise of mine, which I lately publish-

LXVIII. Some time after the publication of the *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c. I had an opportunity of sending it as a present to monsieur BOSSUET, the late bishop of Meaux, who was one of the politest writers of the age, and very much esteemed in France for his great learning, as well as for his good sense; and less could not be expected from a person chose for preceptor, to instruct the Dauphin of France, at a time when that nation abounded with great men. This considerable prelate had, upon several occasions, expressed a great value and esteem for Dr. Bull's learning and judgment; so that from the commendations the bishop had bestowed upon our learned author's former performances, I thought it not unlikely that his lordship would give a favourable reception to this production, which was so very acceptable to many other learned men. And indeed I was not disappointed in my expectations; for this small acknowledgment I made to his lordship, for the many great favours 1694.

Dr. Bull's *Judgment of the Catholic Church*, &c. sent to the bishop of Meaux; who, with the rest of the bishops of France, complimented the author.

ed, and which I intreat you to accept of. I do not yet know how to direct a letter, that it may speedily and certainly come to your hands. If you will give me direction by a line or two, I shall very gladly, if you please, maintain a frequent intercourse of letters with you. I have been some few days in London, and if my occasions would have permitted, and I could have found you out, I should have been ambitious of kissing your hand. Indeed I truly long for an opportunity of seeing your face, and will not despaire of meeting you some time or other at Avening in Gloucestershire; where no man living should be more welcome to,

SIR,

Your very affectionate and faithful
friend and humble servant,
GEO. BULL.

If you please at any time to write to me, direct your letter thus:—*For Dr. Bull at Avening near Tedbury in Gloucestershire.*]

1694. he was pleased to confer upon me, when I was last in France, was received by him with a satisfaction, which could arise from nothing so much, as from the entertainment he met with in that excellent treatise. It happened, that when my letter and Dr. Bull's book were delivered to his lordship, he was then at St. Germain's en Laye, with the rest of his brethren met in a general assembly, which is composed of all the archbishops and bishops of the kingdom of France. If through age or infirmity, or from some other reasonable cause, any of these prelates are hindered from giving their attendance upon such occasions, they have the liberty of constituting their proxies. The usual place of their meeting is either Paris or St. Germains, but there is none fixed for that purpose, because the appointment thereof dependeth entirely upon the king's pleasure; no particular archbishop or bishop hath a right to preside in this assembly, because it belongeth to the king to nominate, though commonly the honour of being president is conferred upon the archbishop of Paris. Upon this occasion, the bishop of Meaux not only read Dr. Bull's book with great care and exactness himself, but thought fit to communicate it to several other bishops of the greatest eminence, for their learning and skill in divinity, and for those other talents, which are necessary to adorn that high station in the church. They also perused it with no less pleasure than satisfaction; the result whereof was, to make a compliment to the author from that great and learned body; and I was desired by the bishop of Meaux, in a letter from his lordship, not only to return Dr. Bull his humble thanks, but the unfeigned congratulations of the whole clergy of

France, assembled then at St. Germains, for the great service he had done to the catholic church, in so well defending her determination of the necessity of believing the divinity of the Son of God. The letter which his lordship wrote to me upon that occasion hath been already printed in the first volume of Dr. Hickes's controversial letters[t]; but I believe it will not be thought improper to insert it in Dr. Bull's Life, as a monument of that respect which was paid to his writings, by so illustrious a prelate as the bishop of Meaux, and by so learned a body as the clergy of France. 1694.

A Monsieur Monsieur Nelson, à Blackheath.

+

A St. Germain en Laye, 24 Juil. 1700.

The bp. of Meaux's letter to Mr. Nelson concerning Dr. Bull.

J'AY receu, Monsieur, depuis quinze jours une lettre, dont vous m'honorez de Blackheath auprès de Londres, le 18 Juillet de l'année passée, en m'envoyant un livre du Docteur Bullus, entitulé, *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c. Je vous dirai d'abord, Monsieur, que je ressentis beaucoup de joie à la veuë de vostre écriture et de vostre nom, et que je fus ravi de cette marque de vostre souvenir. Quant à l'ouvrage du Docteur Bullus, j'ay voulu le lire entier, avant que de vous en accuser la reception; afin de vous en dire mon sentiment. Il est admirable, et la matiere qu'il traite ne pouvoit estre expliquée plus savamment et plus à fond. C'est ce que je vous supplie de vouloir bien luy faire savoir, et en mesme temps les sinceres congratulations de tout le clergé de France assemblé en cette ville, pour le service qu'il rend à l'Eglise Catholique, en defendant si bien

[t Several letters which passed between Dr. George Hickes and a popish priest. 2 vols. 1705. (see p. 225.)]

1694. le jugement qu'elle a porté sur la necessité de croire la divinité du Fils de Dieu. Qu'il me soit permis de luy dire qu'il me reste un seul sujet d'etonnement. C'est qu'un si grand homme qui parle si bien de l'Eglise, du salut que l'on ne trouve qu'en son unité, et de l'assistance infaillible du St. Esprit dans le Concile de Nicée, ce qui induit la mesme grace pour tous les autres assemblez dans la mesme Eglise, puisse demeurer un seul moment sans la reconnoistre. Ou bien, Monsieur, qu'il daigne me dire comme à un zelé defenseur de la doctrine qu'il enseigne, ce que c'est donc qu'il entend par ce mot *Eglise Catholique*? Estce l'Eglise Romaine, et celles qui luy adherent? Estce l'Eglise Anglicane? Estce un amas confus de societez separées les unes des autres? Et comment peuvent elles estre ce royaume de J. C. non divisé en luy mesme, et qui aussi ne doit jamais perir? Que je serai consolé d'avoir sur ce sujet un mot de response, qui m'explique le sentiment d'un si grave auteur. Je suis tres aise, Monsieur, d'aprendre dans vostre lettre l'heureuse nouvelle de la santé de Madame vostre femme, que je recommande de bon cœur à Dieu, avec vous et vostre famille. Ceux qui vous ont raconté les rares talens de M. l'Archevesque de Paris, aujourd'hui le Cardinal de Noailles, vous ont dit la verité; il y a long temps que la chaire de St. Denis n'a esté si dignement remplie. Si M. Collier, dont vous me parlez, a fait quelque écrit Latin sur la nouvelle spiritualité, vous m'obligerez de me l'envoyer. Mais sur tout n'oubliez jamais que je suis avec beaucoup de sincerité,

Monsieur,
Vostre tres-humble, et
tres-obeissant serviteur,
+ J. BENIGNE, E. de Meaux.

To Mr. Nelson, at Blackheath. 1694.

+

St. Germaine en Laye, 24 July, 1700.

I RECEIVED, sir, about a fortnight ago, the honour of your letter from Blackheath near London, dated the 18th of July of the last year, when at the same time you sent me Dr. Bull's book, entitled, *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c. I must first, sir, acquaint you, that the sight of your hand and name gave me a great deal of joy, and that I was extremely pleased with this testimony of your remembrance. As to Dr. Bull's performance, I was willing to read it all over, before I acknowledged the receipt of it, that I might be able to give you my sense of it. It is admirable, and the matter he treats could not be explained with greater learning and greater judgment. This is what I desire you would be pleased to acquaint him with, and at the same time with the unfeigned congratulations of all the clergy of France, assembled in this place, for the service he does the catholic church, in so well defending her determination of the necessity of believing the divinity of the Son of God. Give me leave to acquaint him, there is one thing I wonder at, which is, that so great a man, who speaks so advantageously of the church, of salvation, which is obtained only in unity with her, and of the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost in the council of Nice, which infers the same assistance for all others assembled in the same church, can continue a moment without acknowledging her. Or rather, sir, let him vouchsafe to tell me, who am a zealous defender of the doctrine he teaches, what it is he means by the

1694. term *catholic church?* Is it the church of Rome, and those that adhere to her? Is it the church of England? Is it a confused heap of societies separated the one from the other? And how can they be that kingdom of Christ not divided against itself, and which never shall perish? It would be a great satisfaction to me to receive some answer upon this subject, that might explain the opinion of so weighty and solid an author. I very much rejoice at the good news you send me of your lady's welfare, whom I heartily pray for, with you and your family. You have been rightly informed in the account you have received of the admirable qualifications of the archbishop of Paris, now cardinal de Noailles; the see of St. Denis has not for a long time been so worthily filled. If Mr. Collier, whom you mention, has written any thing in Latin concerning the modern mystical divinity, you will oblige me in conveying it to me. But above all remember, that I am with a great deal of sincerity,

Sir,

Your most humble and
most obedient servant,
+ J. BENIGNE, Bishop of Meaux.

By this letter the reader will perceive that the bishop of Meaux proposed several queries to Dr. Bull, in order to know the sentiments of so considerable a man upon those subjects, which the bishop expected to receive with no small degree of satisfaction. But just as Dr. Bull's answer came to my hands, I received the melancholy news of the bishop of Meaux's death[u], which prevented the progress of

[u] [He died 12th April, 1704.]

that controversy; which we might have expected to have seen carried on with great decency, and to very good effect, by two such great men, though of different communions, if the providence of God had not put a stop to it, by taking the bishop out of the world before Dr. Bull's letter was sent to him[x]. 1694.

LXIX. The last treatise which Dr. Bull wrote, was, [y]*The Primitive and Apostolical Tradition of the Doctrine received in the Catholic Church, concerning the Divinity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, asserted and evidently demonstrated against Daniel Zuicker the Prussian, and his late followers in England;* which was published, when the rest of our learned author's works were collected into one volume, by the very learned and pious Dr. Grabe; of which there will be an account given in the following part of this Life. Now, that the design of our author may be the better understood in this excellent piece, it will be necessary to give some account of the person he writes against, and of the scheme Dr. Zuicker formed, concerning our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ. This Daniel Zuicker was born at Dantzic, in the year 1612, and was bred to the profession of physic, in which he took the degree of a doctor. He was a person of a very inquisitive genius, and of good natural parts, but somewhat over bold; not easily to be satisfied in his researches

Dr. Bull publishes his *Primitive and Apostolical Tradition*, &c. against Dr. Zuicker. An account of that Prussian.

[x] [The letter is published in the present edition of his works, and is entitled, *The Corruptions of the Church of Rome*, &c.]

[y] Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio Dogmatis in Ecclesia Catholica recepti de Jesu Christi Servatoris nostri Divinitate; asserta atque evidenter demonstrata contra Danielem Zuickerum Borussum, ejusque nuperos in Anglia sectatores. Lond. 1703.

1694. after truth; and of great assiduity in his application to whatsoever parts of learning he set himself to study.

Bred a Lutheran, and turns Unitarian.

He was the first and most considerable of those Unitarian writers, which have fallen under the animadversion of Dr. Bull; for he was before Sandius, and both Sandius and Mr. Gilbert Clerke have but copied in a manner after this learned Dantzicker, as also the rest have done, that have engaged on that side of the controversy. [z] When he was between the age of thirty and forty, he set himself to examine into the pretensions of the several religions, professed by those among whom he lived: and when he was now seven and thirty years old, he wrote and printed a dissertation by way of question, *Whether a Christian man were always obliged to learn and enquire?* And about half a year after that, a discourse which he called, *A short and true demonstration when and where the Holy Scripture ought to be properly and where figuratively explained and understood.* Both these were published by him in the High Dutch, his own native language, with the *Rules and Confession of zealous Christians.* And when he was about forty years old, he published, in the same tongue, an historical account of the grounds of his quitting the opinion in which he had been first educated; for he had been bred a Lutheran. But upon this change of his religion, being obliged to leave his own country, he retired into Holland for security and convenience; where he became acquainted with Curcellæus, who hath been already mentioned: and there is added to his

[z] Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum. *Sandius.*

famous *Quaternio*, a dissertation of this very Zuicker, 1694.
but without his name, against Maresius, the great enemy both of Curcellæus and Blondel. The title of it is, *Judicium de Johanna Papissa contra Maresium;* in which he discovered a great fund of ecclesiastical learning, with that sagacity and penetration of judgment, which is required to make a critic. At or about the same time, he printed at Amsterdam his [a] *Irenicum Irenicorum*, &c. or *the Triple Rule of the Reconciler of modern Christians;* the first of which is here established to be the universal *reason* of mankind, or sound sense; the second, the sacred *Scriptures;* and the third, catholic *tradition*, or testimonies of approved ecclesiastical writers. This made the greatest noise of all his writings, which were many, and drew several answers to it from learned men. It was published without a name: and the concealed author might not have been discovered, but that Sandius, who personally knew him, and was privy to the secret, resolved to make the world acquainted with this piece of news, so soon as it was safe to be done. The good Comenius, the last Bohemian bishop, was unhappily engaged in this controversy with Dr. Zuicker; whereby the cause did suffer not a little. Zuicker did unmercifully triumph over the honest old prelate, under the name of *Irenico-mastix*. There are no less than three several vindications of his *Irenicum*, successively set forth by himself, against the attacks of Comenius, Hoornbechius, and others. So that there wanted still a solid confutation of this book,

[a] Irenicum Irenicorum, seu Reconciliatoris Christianorum Hodiernorum norma Triplex; sana omnium hominum ratio, Scriptura Sacra, et Traditiones. Amsterd. 1658. 12mo.

1694. which had perverted many, and continued still to do mischief; the arguments of it being translated also, and new dressed up in our own tongue, that the infection of it might spread here: upon which Dr. Bull undertook this labour, and hath acquitted himself to the satisfaction of all that are capable of weighing without prejudice what he hath written. This Dr. Zuicker hath published several other books, both in Latin and in High and Low Dutch, upon variety of subjects, but chiefly in defence of the Unitarians. He died at Amsterdam in the year 1678, aged sixty-six years and ten months. Now to say somewhat of his sentiments, and particularly his *Irenicum*.

An account of some of this doctor's extravagant positions.

He pretended, that the simplicity of the Gospel of Christ, according as it was believed by the ancient Nazarens, was first corrupted by Simon Magus and his disciples: that the most primitive Christians, both Jewish and Gentile, believed in God the Father, as in the one only true God; and acknowledged not Jesus Christ in any other capacity, but according to his human generation only, till Platonism and Gnosticism crept into the church: that the disciples of this Simon first interpolated and changed the sound doctrine about God and Christ, which had been preached by the apostles of our Lord; and introduced another Christ, preexistent to, and distinct from him that was born of the *Virgin Mary:* that the eternal and divine generation of the *Word* was no better than a dream of the Simonians, destructive of the common notions of mankind, and of the truth of the Gospel, as built upon that *man* whom God hath anointed, and exalted to be a Saviour: that the beginning at least of the

Gospel ascribed to St. John was never written by 1694.
that apostle, but by some heretic out of the school of Simon: that by the same Simonian heretics were forged certain verses under the name of Orpheus, making mention of the *Voice* or *Word* of the Father begotten by him before the world was created, and whom he consulted in the creation thereof; and that Justin Martyr, being imposed upon by these pretended Orphaic verses, as if they had verily been composed by Orpheus himself, and by him derived from Moses, had thence taken up his opinion concerning the generation of Christ from God the Father, before the foundation of the world, as the *Mind*, the *Voice*, the *Reason* of the Father, to the end the world might through his begotten Mind or Voice be brought forth, and that this divine offspring might descend to converse among men, and might at length become himself also a man: that besides the early perversion of the Gospel by the Simonian magic, and by the forgery of the Orphaic and Sibylline oracles, there were several other reasons that concurred to induce Justin and his followers to embrace so easily the opinion of the preexistence of Christ and his generation before all worlds; such as Justin's acquaintance with and affection for the Platonic philosophy, the memory of paganism not yet obliterated, some traces particularly in the minds of the Gentile converts, and prejudices in favour of the commonly received scheme for a plurality of gods not quite extinct; the ordinary custom of *deifying* great and extraordinary persons, and a sort of natural reluctance in all to the worshipping of any one who is *no more than* man. From all which he concluded, that the preexistence and divine generation

1694-1703. of our Saviour was unknown to the apostles; and that it was an opinion which derived itself from Simon Magus, but owed its growth and establishment to pagan philosophers embracing the Christian religion, and blending their philosophy with it; and therefore he laboured to expose to the utmost contempt the greatest man [b] of his time among the heathen converts to Christianity, and one whose pen had *served twice to stop the fury of two persecutions, by two famous Apologies which he wrote in behalf of the Christians*; and to represent this very person who was of so great eminence among the primitive Christians and martyrs, and who lived in communion with the disciples of the apostles, as the principal corrupter of Christianity, and the intruder of a *new Christ* and a *new Gospel*, because he hath spoken so plainly of the preexistence and Godhead of Christ. Wherein he hath been followed by the author of the *Judgment of the Fathers touching the Trinity*, who hath taken out of his quiver the arrows which he hath shot against both the person and the doctrine of this blessed martyr; and by several others, who have written in defence of the ancient heretics and heresies, thereby to overthrow Dr. Bull's *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, and the authority of his Ante-Nicene witnesses.

How Dr. Bull was moved to write against Zuicker, and such as copied after him.

LXX. No wonder therefore if Dr. Bull's zeal was kindled against such writers as these, when he found, what he verily believed upon the strictest examination to be the true apostolical and catholic faith, and the very pillar and foundation of the whole Gospel,

[b] [Justin Martyr.]

to be thus by them blasphemed: to see the most primitive tradition of the purest ages of Christianity, concerning the divinity of the *Logos*, and the pre-existent spiritual nature of Christ before his assumption of the *servile form* of flesh, to be represented as no other than the very spawn of Simonianism and Cerinthianism, or as a relict of pagan polytheism: and to find those heretics who renounced the very principles of Christianity, and denied the lawfulness of calling upon Jesus Christ, confidently set up and ranked among the primitive witnesses of the Gospel; which some of them had never so much as once embraced, being contented to live in the communion of the synagogue, and hold their Jewish notions concerning the person of Christ; and from which others of them actually apostatized, denying the *Lord that bought them*; while at the same time the most substantial and venerable evidences of our holy faith are by pretended Christians set aside, and loudly cried down for no better than impostors and cheats; and while even two out of three of the heavenly witnesses themselves, that is, the *Word* and the *Spirit*, are placed by them in the very same rank with those [c] Baalims which the idolatrous Jews worshipped, together with the only true God, soon after the decease of Joshua. 1694-1703.

Such as these were the provocations which made Dr. Bull so vehement in his charge against some of the modern Arians, and Samosatenians, or Socinians, as to give the former the name of *Ariomanitæ*[d], or *the bewitched Arians*, and to the system of the lat-

[c] Judgment of the Fathers, &c. p. 48, 49.

[d] [Dr. Bull did not invent this term: it is used by Athanasius and Epiphanius.]

1694-1703. ter, that of the *atheistical heresy*; at which the English *Antitrinitarians*, who about this time boasted very much of their strength and numbers, were so desperately incensed against him, that [e]one in the name of all the rest declared, that *no respect or tenderness ought to be shewn him by any Unitarian*. They accused him of mad [f]zeal and bigotry, of supercilious malevolence and arrogance, yea, of *barbarities* towards them; they called him even an *Hildebrand*, for his uncourtlike treating of them; and for breaking the cartel, as they called it, of honour and civility that was thought to be agreed and established between persons of excellent learning or great abilities, when they happen to be engaged on contrary sides; they railed bitterly at him for his shewing so very little deference to the merit of their learning and penetration; for his contempt of their greatest champions, and for his exposing their arguments, as no better than mere sophistries, without the least degree of pity; they upbraided him with want of good manners; and they imputed his writing so warmly and heartily in defence of the Nicene faith, either to his *fear* or to his *ambition*, or to both, and not to any regard for the truth, or esteem for primitive and genuine Christianity; they pretended, that he was so apprehensive of the growing interest of the Unitarians in this kingdom, as almost to be afraid lest it might one day be strong enough to turn him out of his parsonage or prebend; and that this was one principal motive of his appearing

[e] The Judgment of the Fathers concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, &c. Printed an. 1695.

[f] Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity, &c. 1694.

so zealously against them, both from the pulpit and the press: they insinuated also, that he intended by the books written against them, to recommend himself to his superiors in the church, and merit a bishopric or a deanery. I have not concealed any part of their charge against this great man, or covered over their suspicions of him, as if his good name were any ways in danger hereby, or as if the cause which he defended could be hurt by such a method as this. No; they are extremely mistaken who think any such thing; and the adversaries themselves do in effect confess as much, while they so violently exclaim against the appearance of it in another; and it is much more probable, that Dr. Bull's labours in vindication of the true apostolical faith must needs have done much good in the world, since these gentlemen were so exasperated against them and their author. 1694-1703.

The substance of Dr. Bull's *Primitive and Apostolical Tradition*, &c. against Zuicker and others.

Upon the occasion of these extravagant positions of Dr. Zuicker, and of others who had copied after him, in fiercely opposing the catholic tradition of the preexistence and divine nature of our Lord, Dr. Bull drew up *the Primitive and Apostolic Tradition*, &c. which we have already mentioned; and I think a clear demonstration will here be found, that Justin Martyr is not, as is pretended, an innovator of the Christian faith, in the article concerning the person of Christ; that he was not deceived herein by the frauds and artifices of the disciples of Simon Magus; that he never learnt from the school of Plato, what he delivered concerning the *Logos;* and that he was far from any design of intermixing polytheism with Christianity, or for accommodating the Gospel of Christ to the Gentile theology: but that, on the

1694-1703. contrary, it was an apostolical tradition derived from the first Christian churches, that our Saviour did exist before the world was made; and that the world was made by him; that the doctrine of his Godhead and incarnation could not come forth from the school of that sorcerer Simon, whose sentiments very widely differed from the catholic tradition of that doctrine; and that it was impossible to have been derived either from the Platonic philosophers or any philosophical economy, or condescension to such, whom the Christians had a mind to win over to them. Here is also a particular and most accurate account given of Hegesippus, and of his sentiments concerning Christ's person, against the allegations of some modern writers amongst us, in opposition to the catholic faith: as likewise of the primitive Nazarens, and of the first bishops of Jerusalem, challenged as theirs by Dr. Zuicker's English disciples. The reader will, besides, be here entertained with a good deal of curious and useful learning, about the Sibylline oracles and the verses of Orpheus, which are cited by several of the primitive writers against the heathens. In short, the whole weight of the controversy is here brought into a small compass; the enemies are disarmed of their strongest weapons; and the matter is decided for the catholics, with as much perspicuity and solidity as can be desired.

1703. Dr. Bull's Latin works collected into one volume by Dr. Grabe.

1703. LXXI. In the year 1703, Dr. Bull's Latin works, which had been published by himself at several times, and upon different occasions, as hath been already related, were collected together into one volume in folio; and printed by Mr. Richard Smith, bookseller

in London. Dr. Bull being now advanced in years, and oppressed with the load of many infirmities, the revising and correcting this impression was voluntarily undertaken by his particular friend, as well as mine, that truly great man, Dr. John Ernest Grabe, who adorned and perfected this new edition with his own many learned annotations, and introduced it into the world with an admirable preface, which did great justice to our excellent author, as well as to his learned and judicious writings[g]. And it will appear by a letter of Dr. Bull's, which the reader will meet with in the following sheets[h], that he had a very grateful sense of this great favour of Dr. Grabe's, though he was not able to requite it. 1703-5.

But who can mention Dr. Grabe without a deep and particular concern for the loss of so great a man, in the very prime of his age, when we expected to reap the fruit of his indefatigable studies, which were chiefly conversant about Christian antiquities; and who by an eminent author is very aptly compared "[i] to a great and mighty prince, who dying, "leaves behind him many plans of noble and curious "buildings; foundations of others; others erected "above ground; some half, others almost, and others "perfectly finished. Such are the remains left us Dr. Grabe's character.

[g] [In 1721 Bowyer reprinted Grabe's edition of the Latin works of Bull, with the addition of *Breves Animadversiones in Tractatum Gilberti Clerke*, which Nelson had published. He is said to have lost 200*l.* by the speculation. Nichols's Anecdotes, vol. i. p. 208-9.]

[h] [In §. LXXXII.]

[i] Dr. Hickes's Discourse concerning Dr. Grabe and his manuscripts, premised to, *Some Instances of the Defects and Omissions of Mr. Whiston's Collections*, by Dr. Grabe. Printed by H. Clements, 1712.

1703-5. " by this great master-builder, as may appear by the " catalogue of his manuscripts."

All the learned, who could best judge of his great talents, readily offer him that incense of praise, which is justly due to his profound erudition; whereby he was qualified to enlighten the dark and obscure parts of ecclesiastical history, to trace the original frame and state of the Christian church, and to restore the sacred volumes, the pillars of our faith, to their primitive perfection.

He had so great a zeal for promoting the ancient government and discipline of the church, among all those who had separated themselves from the corruptions and superstitions of the church of Rome, that he formed a plan, and made some advances in it, for restoring the episcopal order and office in the territories of the king of Prussia his sovereign; and proposed, moreover, to introduce a Liturgy, much after the model of the English service, into that king's dominions; and recommended likewise the use of the English Liturgy itself, by the means of some of his friends, to a certain neighbouring court. By which means he would have united the two main bodies of protestants, in a more perfect and apostolical reformation, than that upon which either of them did yet stand, and would thereby have fortified the common cause of their *protestation* against the errors of popery. But yet his learned studies did not so engross his mind, as to prevent his daily attending the hours of public prayer, to which purpose he always chose his lodgings near a church: neither did the applause he received from the greatest men of the age so exalt him, but that he readily

condescended to converse with those of the lowest understanding, when he could be any ways serviceable to them in their spiritual concerns. 1703-5.

He was justly esteemed one of the greatest divines of the age; yet the great modesty of his temper, and the profound humility of his mind, made him prefer others before himself. He laid the chiefest stress upon the constant practice of the virtues of the Christian life, and was also a strict observer of all the rules of the apostolical times, and of the catholic usages of the first Christians. He bore his last sickness, which deprived the world of so great a treasure, with most exemplary patience, and submission to the will of God; and exercised all those acts of devotion, which the best of men are zealously intent upon in their last labours for immortality. He was very severe upon himself, even for those common human frailties which are apt to cleave to those of the greatest eminence for their sanctity, and, with true compunction, bewailed the neglects and omissions of his duty, which from the unseasonable resort of company he sometimes was forced to. And yet he thanked God from the bottom of his heart, that through the assistance of his grace, he had so far overcome those temptations which he had met with in life, that he never prostituted his conscience for the sake of gain, or defiled his body, which he always had kept pure from the mortal sin of uncleanness. He had constantly every day, and frequently several times in the day, the office of the *Visitation of the Sick*, with some proper collects of his own choosing, used by his bedside, and he commonly desired the imposition of the priest's hands, when the absolution or blessing was pronounced

1703-5. over him. He received the communion of our Lord's body and blood with great devotion several times during his severe visitation, to fortify him in his passage to eternity; and was at last set at liberty from the bondage of his mortal body, upon the 3d of November, 1711, in the 46th year of his age. The occasion of his death was a bruise which he got in his side, at the place of his liver, when he made his last journey to Oxford in the stage coach, in prosecuting the noble work he had in hand; which accident, being neglected at first, upon his return to London became thus fatal.

He was buried a few days after, according to his order, in the parish church of St. Pancras, near London, by his much valued friend the Rev. Dr. Smalridge, dean of Carlisle, who hath that justice paid to his merit, that he is the great favourite of all learned and good men throughout the nation. And it must be acknowledged, to the honour of the present vicar of St. Pancras, the Rev. Mr. Nathaniel Marshal, that he refused those fees which were due for burying in the chancel, and which are there very considerable, purely out of respect to the great character of the person who was interred.

Supported in his sickness by the present lord high treasurer, earl of Oxford and Mortimer.

There is one circumstance which related to this excellent man, which must not be omitted, because it tended so much to alleviate the burden of his last sickness; and for which he was very thankful to God, and his generous benefactor. The present lord high treasurer, earl of Oxford and Mortimer, that great patron of learning and learned men, was in a particular manner a Mæcenas to Dr. Grabe; and during his lifetime encouraged his great work of publishing the Alexandrian copy of the Septua-

gint, not only by generously contributing to it himself, but by procuring for the doctor a large proportion of the royal bounty; and when the doctor in his sickness applied to his lordship for that part of his annual pension which was due to him, and had been constantly paid him, his lordship not only gratified him in what he desired, but to shew his great value and esteem of the doctor, and for fear so great a man should want any necessary comfort from the things of this world in such a gloomy season, my lord sent him a supply of fifty pounds from his own bounty. An action for which his lordship had the repeated prayers of a dying saint, and for which all learned and good men must praise him, and which will be a comfortable part of that strict account which he must give at the great tribunal. And I have farther reason to believe, that his lordship designs to have a CENOTAPHIUM erected in St. Paul's, or St. Peter's at Westminster, to perpetuate the memory of so much piety and so much learning, which seldom meet together in such great perfection as they did in Dr. Grabe [k]. 1703-5.

LXXII. In February 170¼, Dr. Bull was made acquainted with her majesty's gracious intentions of conferring upon him the bishopric of St. David's [l], 1705. Dr. Bull promoted to the bishopric of St. David's.

[k] [The earl of Oxford erected a monument to him in Westminster-abbey.]

[l] [The see had been vacant five years and eight months since the deprivation of Thomas Watson, the last bishop, in 1699, upon a charge of simony. Dr. Bull was recommended to the queen by archbishop Tenison: but it is said in the Life of Archbishop Sharp, that "though the archbishop of Canterbury seemed "to claim the merit, yet the queen told the archbishop of York,

1705. the news whereof he received with great surprise, and with no less concern. And considering the great weight of that high station in the church, and how much work is required to a conscientious discharge of that administration; and withal, the ill state of health under which he then laboured, and the evening of life, to which he was now arrived, being in the 71st year of his age, I do not wonder that he did at first decline engaging in that important office. It is not without reason, that persons of the strongest virtue, in the vigour of their days, who best deserve the most honourable employments in the church, have been most afraid of being advanced to them: it requireth great firmness of mind, not to be dazzled with that honour which adorneth the episcopal throne; and how difficult is it to be exalted, and not to love the preeminence! The respect and obsequiousness of inferiors insensibly corrupt the mind, and when men are placed above reproof, they quickly begin to persuade themselves that they do not stand in need of it. What courage and prudence is necessary to oppose vice, when it is countenanced by persons of figure and quality! What poverty of spirit, to sit loose to the world in the midst of the greatest affluence! What heavenly-mindedness, to negociate the greatest temporal affairs

" (Sharp,) that she would not have done it, but for the great cha-
" racter he had given her before of this Dr. Bull. He indeed
" did not rightly approve of this promotion, on account of the
" doctor's great age. He thought his merit should have been
" rewarded some other way; and as it was a reflexion on the
" government, that a man of such worth should not be earlier
" preferred, so it might prove a detriment to the church, that he
" was preferred so late." p. 337.]

with the indifferency of a traveller, who seeketh a better country! What perfection of piety to be ready to sacrifice fame and reputation, nay, even life itself, to conscience and duty; and to contemn the favour of the greatest upon earth, when the honour of God, the rights of the church, and the good of souls, are laid in the balance! But though Dr. Bull was very unwilling, for the reasons I have already mentioned, to enter into the episcopal college; yet being importuned by his friends, who understood the distressed state and condition of his family; and what most prevailed, being earnestly solicited by several of the governors of the church, which he looked upon as the call of Providence, he was at last prevailed upon to accept of that elevated station which he never sought. And therefore might humbly hope, that God, who had called him from the care of a parish to the government of a diocese, would enable him by his Holy Spirit to discharge the several duties which belonged to it; and that He who laid the burden upon him, would strengthen him under it; and it is certain, that God proportioneth his gifts to the wants of those who depend upon him; and the distributions of grace are larger, as his wise providence maketh them necessary. 1705.

But however difficult the employment might prove to Dr. Bull, in the decline of his strength and vigour, it certainly concerned the honour of the nation, not to suffer a person to die in an obscure retirement, who upon the account of his learned performances had shined with so much lustre in a neighbouring nation, where he had received the united thanks of her bishops, for the great service he had done to

1705. the cause of Christianity. Accordingly he was consecrated bishop of St. David's, in Lambeth chapel, the [m] 29th of April, 1705; upon which occasion there was a very good sermon preached by the present rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, Dr. Waugh; wherein he shewed, with great evidence of Scripture, what kind of rulers preside over the Christian church; with what power they are invested, and wherein that obedience and submission consisteth which is due to them; and all this was urged from those remarkable words of the apostle to the Hebrews, chap. xiii. 17. *Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves.* This worthy clergyman succeeded bishop Beveridge in the care of that parish, and among his other excellencies it may be mentioned with honour, that he treadeth in the steps of that pious prelate in the government of it; and that congregation continueth still distinguished, as exemplary for devotion in the city of London.

St. David's formerly a metropolitan see.

The bishopric of St. David's, which was now conferred upon Dr. Bull, was formerly a metropolitan see in the British church, and the bishop hereof continued a long time the supreme ordinary of the Welsh. About the year 519, it was removed hither from Caer-Leon upon Usk, as a proper shelter from the fury of the Saxons. The place at that time was called by the Welsh, Menew, but afterwards, in memory of David, the archbishop, who so translated it, St. David's; but it is from the first name that the bishops of this diocese are in Latin styled *Menevenses*. Now as to these bishops of St. David's, we find that twenty-seven of them retained the title of

[m] [Browne Willis says the 25th.]

archbishops: the last whereof was Sampson, who, in a time of pestilence, transferred the archiepiscopal dignity to Dole in Bretagne. Yet his successors, though they lost the name, preserved the power of an archbishop; nor did the residue of the Welsh bishops receive their consecration from any other hand but his, until the reign of Henry I. who, upon subduing the country, forced the Welsh churches, in the time of Bernard, the forty-seventh bishop of this see, to submit to the see of Canterbury. 1705.

The diocese containeth the whole counties of Pembroke, Cardigan, Caermarthen, Radnor, and Brecknock, with some small part of Monmouth, Hereford, Montgomery, and Glamorganshires; the parishes under this jurisdiction amount to about 308, of which 120 are accounted impropriations; besides several subordinate chapels, which have been built in several parishes for the ease of the people; the whole diocese is governed, under the bishop, by four archdeacons, with the title of Cardigan, Caermarthen, Brecknock, and St. David's.

He buries his son, Mr. George Bull, from whom he expected assistance.

There was one circumstance which supported bishop Bull, under the sense of his inability to discharge the episcopal function, and which had a great influence upon him, in the determining him to accept it; and that was, the assistance he expected from his eldest son, Mr. George Bull, a clergyman, in the very flower of his age, being then about five and thirty. He was a person truly sober and religious, as well as learned and understanding in his own profession. He had spent seventeen years at Christ Church in Oxford [n], and was esteemed one of

Mr. Bull's character.

[n] [He was admitted a commoner March 13, 1686. and elected student, July 11, 1687.]

1705. the ornaments of that society, where all polite and solid learning hath been used to flourish in perfection. In this place, he was not only formed himself to piety and learning, but as a tutor he had formed others to the same valuable qualifications; and with diligence and success had cultivated the minds of several gentlemen, and had regulated their manners. The sense of this obligation made so strong an impression upon one of his pupils, the worthy sir Bourchier Wrey, baronet, that he became Mr. Bull's patron, and preferred him to the rectory of Tawstock in Devonshire, after he had laboured some years in doing good by his preaching in the neighbourhood of Oxford; and not long after, upon the promotion of his father, by the grace and favour of the queen, he was in his room made archdeacon of Landaff[o]. But, alas! the reasonable expectation his lordship had from this his excellent son quickly vanished, for in two years time, being in London with his father, he was attacked by the smallpox, which he received as a dispensation from the hand of God, with a composed mind, entirely resigned to his holy will; and having fortified himself with his *viaticum*, the holy eucharist, and having commended himself into the hands of the blessed Jesus, with a firm hope of immortal life, promised by him, and purchased by his merits, he did with great quietness of mind expect the approach of death; which put an end to his days the 11th of May, 1707, in the 37th

[o] [The bishop also resigned to him his prebendal stall at Gloucester Dec. 27, 1705, though in April of the same year he had obtained permission to hold this prebend *in commendam* during his life, on account of the small income of his see. See Rankin's Translation of the *Judicium*, p. 311.]

year of his age, to the great grief of his tender parents, and dear friends, and of all good and learned men who were happy in his acquaintance. His natural judgment was strong, and his apprehension quick, and his learning worthy of that society where he was educated; but he chiefly excelled in piety and holiness of life, which was crowned and completed with singular modesty and Christian humility, which in the sight of God is of great price. 1705.

A specimen of this his great modesty and humility I am able to give the reader, in the beginning of a letter which he writ to me, ten years before his death, the occasion whereof was this. Having been obliged to apply to him for his assistance, in a concern which I had at the university of Oxford, I took notice of the pleasure and satisfaction I received from his good character, which had been confirmed to me by several of his acquaintance; to which he was pleased to make the following reply. A testimony of his humility, in a letter to Mr. Nelson.

Oxon. Ch. Ch. July 27, 1697.

SIR,

YOU were pleased to favour me with an unexpected letter; and therein to signify to me the good character those of this place you have met with give of me. I find common fame, how uncharitable soever it is to others, has been too kind to me, in ascribing to me, what I must confess to you, I do not deserve: which convinces me, that a very little thing is sufficient to bring a man into the good, as well as the ill opinion of others. But every man that can think impartially is his own best judge in this case. And therefore I hope I may say, that I

1705. know myself so well, as to see the opinion others have of me to be a thing that tells me, not what I am, but what I ought to be. Indeed I acknowledge to you, (and I think myself obliged so to do,) that I am a servant of the great God, though but a weak and imperfect one. As for other things, I must tell you, (and I am not ashamed to own it,) that my improvements here in the university have been as mean, as my education was before I came hither: pardon me, sir, for thus taking notice of the beginning of your letter, for I could not restrain myself from it; because you are not the first by many, that intimated to me how well others speak of me. And I look upon it as a special providence of God in bringing these things to my hearing, to mortify me for what I really am, and to stir me up to endeavour to be what I am not. But enough of this, sir, and I tell it only to you, knowing to whom I write. For perhaps to some, such a letter might render me ridiculous.

Now for a person to have Mr. Bull's acquirements of learning and piety, with so mean an opinion of them himself, will be thought by all good Christians to be no small degree of the most valuable virtue of humility. The loss of so good a son was a very great affliction to the good old bishop, and the greater, from those circumstances of life in which he was then engaged; but yet through the assistance of God's grace, he did not sink under it, his heart was fixed, trusting in the Lord.

He takes his seat in the house of lords at the time of the union.

The bishop took his seat in the house of lords in a most critical conjuncture, even in that memorable session, when the bill for uniting both kingdoms

passed into a law; and when not a few were in the greatest apprehensions concerning our church, and were for considering thence the best methods of securing it to posterity, together with the union. Wherefore upon a debate in the house, in relation to the said bill, a certain noble lord, of a very eminent character, moved in a speech, that since the parliament of Scotland had given a character of their church, by extolling the *purity of its worship*, their lordships should not be behindhand in giving a character of the *best constituted church in the world.* For, saith he, (turning himself towards the bench of bishops,) my lords, I have been always taught by my lords the bishops from my youth, *that the Church of England is the best constituted church in the world, and most agreeable to the apostolical institution.* Upon which, bishop Bull, who sate very near his lordship, apprehending how upon such an appeal to the bishops, it was necessary for them to say something, stood up and said; "My lords, I do "second what that noble lord hath moved, and do "think it highly reasonable, that in this bill a cha- "racter should be given of our most excellent "church. For, my lords, whosoever is skilled in "primitive antiquity, must allow it for a certain and "evident truth, that the Church of England is, in "her doctrine, discipline, and worship, most agree- "able to the primitive and apostolical institution." The bishop of St. David's coming out of the house, bishop Beveridge and another bishop thanked his lordship for his excellent speech; and said bishop Beveridge, *My lord, if you and I had the penning of the bill, it should be in the manner your lordship hath moved.* Upon which bishop Bull made 1705.

1705. such a reply, as represented the necessity he lay under of thus discharging his duty, when so solemnly called upon in the greatest court of the nation: and it is certainly at all times the indispensable obligation of all the bishops and pastors of the church, to behave themselves with an holy boldness and undaunted resolution, in the affairs of God and religion, without being awed or biassed by the torrent of the times, or made sordidly to crouch to a prevailing power of worldly politicians, who are for carrying on their own sinister designs at any rate, though always under the most specious pretexts.

The bishop, in July after his consecration, goes into his diocese.

LXXIII. About July after his lordship was consecrated, he went into his diocese; being resolved to employ the remainder of his strength and vigour in that service of his Master, the great Bishop of souls, to which he was now called. He was received by the gentry and clergy with all imaginable demonstrations of respect, which increased in proportion as they grew more intimately acquainted with his solid worth. The episcopal palace at Aberguilly being much out of repair, he made choice of Brecknock for the place of his residence, being the chief town in the county of that name, placed almost in the centre thereof. Here king Henry the Eighth constituted a collegiate church, consisting of two and twenty prebendaries, which he translated to this place, from Aberguilly in Caermarthenshire: this town abounded with great numbers of poor people, who looked upon the good bishop as a guardian angel, sent to comfort and relieve them under their pressing wants and necessities. And herein they were not mistaken, as will appear by what shall be

related in reference to that subject, when the bishop removed from thence to another seat in his diocese. When he was settled at this place, his first care was to apply himself to understand the state and condition of that district, which was committed to his care. Now in order to this purpose, he designed that summer to visit his diocese himself in person; and did begin at Brecknock, where he delivered his charge to the clergy, consisting in an earnest and pathetical exhortation, wherein he stirred them up, by way of remembrance, to a steady and vigorous prosecution of the duties of their sacred function. But it pleased God to prevent the farther execution of his good purposes, by sending him a severe illness, which put an end to his progress at that time. But still, that he might not want that information, which was necessary to enable him to rectify any thing which was amiss under his government, he committed this trust to several commissioners, of which the chief was Mr. William Powel, rector of Langattock, and prebendary of Becknock, with others the most considerable clergymen in the several deaneries. By which means he was better able to judge where his authority and power was most wanting to reform any prevailing abuses; and what measures might be taken to remedy them. 1705.

And because it may be proper to finish this head of his visitations under this article, I must acquaint the reader, that three years after this his lordship appointed a triennial visitation; but not being able, through weakness and continued indispositions, to bear the fatigue of travelling, he constituted his worthy son-in-law, Mr. Stevens, the present archdeacon of Brecknock, and residentiary canon of St. David's, 1708. The bishop appoints a triennial visitation by commissioners.

1708. with Mr. William Powel before-mentioned, to be his commissioners, to visit in his stead. Mr. Stevens delivered the charge, which the bishop had prepared, under the hopes of appearing himself in all the parts of his diocese.

The sum of the charge prepared by the bishop.

The sum whereof was, to set before his clergy the principal parts and branches of their pastoral office, with rules and directions for the most successful manner of performing them. The main duties of their function he maketh to consist in reading the prayers of the church, in preaching, in catechising, in administering the holy sacraments, and in visiting the sick. And as to the manner of performing the principal parts of their office, the directions he giveth are these. To read divine service *audibly*, that all who are present may join in it; *distinctly* and leisurely, that they may not outrun the attention and devotion of the people; and with *great reverence* and devotion, so as to kindle pious affections in the congregation. For thus, he saith, the prayers of the church are to be read, both in order to keep up the reputation of them, and to render them useful to the people. To qualify them for preaching, he pressed the knowledge and understanding of the holy Scriptures; and in order thereunto, some skill in the learned languages, with good judgment and discretion, and not without a tolerable share of elocution. He advised young divines not to trust at first to their own compositions, but to furnish themselves with a provision of the best sermons, which the learned divines of our church have published; that by reading them often, and by endeavouring to imitate them, they may acquire a habit of good preaching themselves. And where, through poverty,

or any other impediment, ministers are incapable of discharging this duty as they ought, he directed them to use the Homilies of the church, and sometimes to read a chapter to the people, out of that excellent book, called *The whole Duty of Man.* As to catechising, he just hints at the necessity and usefulness of it; and required the churchwardens to present the neglect of it, that he might by his authority rectify it. As to the administration of the holy sacraments, he enjoined them to perform baptism in public, and chiefly on Sundays and holydays, when the assemblies of Christians are fullest; and in order to reform the abuses of that kind, he resolved to exert his episcopal power. He exhorted to great reverence and solemnity in officiating at the altar, and to the observation of every punctilio, according to the rubrics compiled for that purpose; and especially to take care not to administer the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper to persons known to be vicious and scandalous. As to visiting the sick, the parochial priest is directed to go without being sent for, when he hears any of his parishioners are under the afflicting hand of God, and to perform the duty, according to the rules prescribed by the church; from whence also he took occasion to press the parochial clergy to acquaint themselves with their flock, when they are in health, in order to promote the great end of their own function, the salvation of souls. He concluded what he had to say to the clergy, in a serious exhortation to them to become examples to their people of eminent piety and holiness, which they are obliged to, not only as Christians, but as priests of the living God; and farther, to be diligent in the business of their 1708.

1708. holy function; the importance whereof was too great to admit the least indulgence to sloth and idleness. And lastly, he persuaded them to the frequent use of private prayer, which is necessary for their own direction, as well as to set forward the salvation of those souls which are committed to their inspection. He ends his charge with a word to the laity, that they would be persuaded to respect their pastors for the Lord's sake, and to throw a veil over those personal defects, which were in common to them with the rest of mankind; and moreover, that they would be strictly just in paying them their dues; that the little they have they may have in quiet. He concluded the whole, in putting churchwardens in mind of not perjuring themselves for fear or favour; but to be honest, and present matters according to the best of their skill and knowledge. But a fuller account of this charge the reader will find among his discourses, which are now published, where it is printed at large.

The bishop confirms in several places.

LXXIV. It was matter of great grief to the good bishop, that by the decay of his strength, and by his frequent indispositions, he was prevented from travelling over his diocese, in order to administer in all the parts of it that holy apostolical rite grounded upon Scripture, as expounded by catholic tradition, which for some time hath been known and distinguished in the church by the name of *confirmation*; and which in the primitive times was more frequently called, *obsignation* and *unction*, from the sacred chrism, wherewith the persons confirmed were wont to be anointed by the bishop, and which, with the imposition of hands, was the symbol of con-

ferring the baptismal spirit. The great usefulness of this holy institution, is manifest from the many benefits which attend it; for hereby persons already baptized receive an increase of divine grace, and larger measures of spiritual strength are conferred to enable them to discharge their baptismal engagements, and to carry them to higher degrees of improvement in all Christian virtues. But though he was thus hindered from administering this holy rite of confirmation throughout his large diocese, yet where he resided, and in the neighbourhood of such places, he was not wanting in affording opportunities of receiving it, to all such as were disposed to embrace them; and therefore he confirmed at Brecknock, Caermarthen, Landeilo, Abermarless, as often as there was occasion. 1708.

The care he took in ordaining deacons and priests.

The September after the bishop came into his diocese, he had a public ordination; and the same time every year was by him employed after the same manner. After the other ember seasons he ordained but a small number, more or less, as occasion required. The warning St. Paul gave to Timothy, *to lay hands suddenly on no man*, is not only of the highest importance to the governors of the church, who are entrusted with the power of constituting officers for the service of it; but is also of the greatest consequence to the whole body in general, who are the subjects upon whom that power and authority is exercised. It is certain, that bishops must answer at the day of judgment for any neglect they shall be guilty of, in admitting persons not duly qualified for the sacred function; which made St. Chrysostom think, that of all men, bishops would have the greatest account to give at the dreadful tribunal, and

1708. would find the greatest difficulty in working out their salvation. But it is not less certain, that the church, the body of Christ, receiveth the most mortal wounds from her own sons, and that she hath suffered more from the ambition and pride, the luxury and covetousness, and temporizing of bad priests, than even from the persecution of tyrants themselves. So that it is no wonder if a bishop, rightly disposed to discharge that important trust committed to his management, is under no little concern, when he admitteth candidates to holy orders.

The manner of bishop Bull's treating the candidates of holy orders.

The first thing therefore that bishop Bull required of such candidates was, that they should make their personal appearance before him at least a month before Ordination Sunday. At such their appearance, they produced their testimonials and titles, and were examined by one of his chaplains, and also by himself, as often as the state of his health would permit. The design of this examination was to judge of their sufficiency, as to their knowledge and capacity, for the weighty business in which they solicited to engage. This method he so strictly insisted upon, that he refused several, for appearing later than the time prescribed, without admitting them to examination. Now what the bishop chiefly proposed, by requiring this early appearance, was, that he might have sufficient time to inquire into the characters of the candidates, and into the characters of those who had subscribed their testimonials; as likewise into the circumstances of such persons, from whom they had their titles. Upon the last subject, the matter of his inquiries was, whether they who gave the title had really an occasion for a curate; and whether the

benefice or benefices they enjoyed could maintain an incumbent and a curate, allowing the latter a competent salary. And finding that the allowances which some incumbents gave, under the general terms of a *competent salary*, which are the words commonly made use of in forms of titles, were not always a sufficient maintenance, nor bore any proportion to what the benefice could afford, he made it a rule, not to admit of any title which ran only in such general terms, but required that the very sum they designed to allow should be expressly mentioned in the body of the title. 1708.

Besides the trial he made of their attainments as scholars, he would ask many questions, in order to discover whether they could give a good account of their faith, and to find out the inward temper and complexion of their souls; whether they had a true sense of religion upon their minds, and whether they were inwardly moved to undertake that most difficult, as well as desirable employment. At the same time, he laid before them the nature, dignity, and importance of that holy function to which they were to be admitted; and gave them directions how to prepare themselves for the receiving their spiritual powers, especially in the time that intervened between their appearance and their solemn admission. He usually exhorted them to spend a large part of that season in fasting and prayer, because the highest pitch of human learning is very ineffectual to cure the diseases of the mind, without the assistance of God's grace; and there is no depending upon the greatest abilities for this work, except they are supported by help from above. He particularly recommended to the candidates a frequent and serious per-

1708. usal of the whole office of Ordination, but especially the questions and answers; upon each of which he desired them to dwell for some time, in order to give themselves leisure to examine their own dispositions, and to form sincere and vigorous resolutions faithfully to discharge those several duties of their function which they were obliged to undertake, and that in so solemn a manner, upon their admission to it. He took this occasion also to explain to them that were entering into the order of deacons, the meaning of that question in the office of ordaining them, *Do you trust that you are inwardly called by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration?* His discourse to them upon this subject led him to inform them, how far, and in what degree, the prospect of getting a livelihood or maintenance by that profession may be allowed to be a justifiable motive of undertaking it.

His exhortations to them after ordination.

After they were ordained, and had received their instruments, the bishop dismissed them with an earnest and affectionate exhortation, to be diligent in their studies, sober and exemplary in their lives and conversations, and careful and conscientious in the discharge of the duties of their sacred function, in those places where by their titles they were to be employed; charging them to make it their chief business and endeavour to answer the end of their profession, by being useful in it, and to employ their care and time rather to deserve than seek preferment. He endeavoured to persuade them, that, generally speaking, the most certain, as well as the most primitive method of advancing themselves, was to be diligent and studious in their present station, and quietly to continue in it for some time, till their

own merits should raise them to a better post in the church; and not to be over forward in making application themselves, or to solicit the interest and application of friends in their behalf, which are sometimes so many and so pressing, that they put a conscientious and goodnatured patron under a great deal of difficulty and uneasiness; and upon occasions of that nature, bishop Bull would lament that he had any preferments in his gift. He was much troubled when he was under a necessity of ordaining persons who were but meanly qualified, which could not be avoided sometimes in that country, where the clergy are so meanly provided for; when he had admitted persons into orders of a more liberal education, and of some sufficiency as to their fortunes, he advised and recommended the reading the Fathers of the church, next to the holy Scriptures, at least those of the three first centuries. This degree of skill and acquaintance with primitive antiquity he looked upon, not only as useful, but absolutely necessary, to support the character of a priest, whose *lips* are to *preserve knowledge*. These books, he said, he recommended to their diligent and serious perusal, not only to inform their judgment, but to influence their practice; since they had a great tendency to refine their morals, and raise their affections to heavenly things; being writ with such a lively spirit of piety and devotion, as is not to be met with in the writings of later centuries. 1708.

And farther, to shew the deference the bishop paid to the consentient testimony of the primitive writers, and with what sort of spirit they ought to be read by the candidates of divinity, I shall here, for their sakes, transcribe a very remarkable passage

1708. from his discourse concerning *the State of Man before the Fall*, &c. wherein, after our author had justified the concurrent interpretation of a text of Scripture by the catholic doctors, he speaks after this manner; "[p] You will now, I presume, easily "pardon this large digression, being in itself not "unuseful, and being also necessary to remove a "stone of offence often cast in the way of the "reader, that converseth with the writings of the "ancient Fathers. Nay, moreover, I shall persuade "myself, that from this one instance among many, "you will learn from henceforth the modesty of sub-"mitting your judgment to that of the catholic doc-"tors, where they are found generally to concur in "the interpretation of a text of Scripture, how ab-"surd soever that interpretation may at first seem "to be. For upon a diligent search you will find, "that *aliquid latet quod non patet*, there is a mys-"tery in the bottom, and that what at first view "seemed very ridiculous will afterwards appear to "be an important truth. Let them therefore, who "reading the Fathers are prone to laugh at that in "them which they do not presently understand, se-"riously consider, *quanto suo periculo id faciant*."

He endeavours to reform the administering baptism in private.

LXXV. Among other irregularities which the bishop found had prevailed in his diocese, was the general custom of administering public baptism in private houses. This he declared against, as an absurd and uncanonical practice; *absurd*, as being inconsistent with the design and words of the office, drawn up for that purpose; which all along supposeth it to be

[p] Vol. iii. Discourse 5th.

sed in the church, in the presence of the congrega- 1708.
ion; and *uncanonical*, as being directly contrary to
he express words of the 81st Canon. His lordship
ook a great deal of pains, both in his charge to the
lergy, and in his discourses with them and the laity,
o convince them of the unreasonableness and irregu-
arity of that custom; and though his endeavours in
his matter did not meet with that entire success
vhich he expected and desired, yet in a great many
arishes, I am credibly informed, this irregular prac-
ice was wholly laid aside; and in all other places in
hat diocese, I hear, it is very much disused, though
ıot quite abolished. Indeed his conversation with
ıis clergy was upon all occasions grave and serious,
ınd related chiefly to the condition of their parishes,
ınd the disposition of their people, and the discharge
›f their own duties, especially in catechising, and
visiting the sick. Sometimes he would represent
:he difficulty and importance, as well as the dignity
›f their office; at another time, the great obligations
they lay under of being devout and studious as much
as might be, and of using their utmost endeavours
to destroy vice and error, and to build up their people
in faith and holiness; and never failed frequently to
put them in mind of the horrible punishment which
would ensue, if any soul should miscarry through
their negligence.

He frequently expressed his dislike of lay-impropriations.

Though the bishop was a great admirer of the constitution of the Church of England, as being in the main founded upon the best and purest antiquity; yet he often lamented her distressed state, from the decay of ancient discipline, and from those divisions which prevailed in the kingdom; and more particularly from the great number of lay-impropri-

1708. ations. The last of these he looked upon as the occasion of the two former, upon which he said, several good men called the alienation of tithes the scandal of the reformation; and that they esteemed it the great blemish of the happy restoration, that there was not sufficient care taken at that time of the interest of the Church of England, in respect to the revenues of it. All the impropriations might easily have been purchased in those days, when the national funds were all clear, and such vast arrears in all bishoprics, as, if laid out to that use, would very much have lessened the number of them. When the bishop talked upon this subject, he would often mention with pleasure the wisdom and goodness of the queen, in her augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy; and he hoped that several of her subjects, led by the example of her royal bounty, would of their own plenty bring their gifts into this treasury, and so render it effectual to those purposes her majesty intended it. This design he thought would be more easily carried on, if some rich impropriators could be prevailed upon to restore to the church some part of her revenues, which they had too long retained, to the great prejudice of the church, and very often to the ruin of their families, by that secret curse, which is the usual attendant of sacrilegious possessions. He was able to give instances of this kind in some families of his acquaintance; and in this point my lord seemed to concur with the opinion of sir Henry Spelman.

Though he was always in his judgment against lay-impropriations, yet he was never so sensible of the great inconveniences which attend them, till he came into the diocese of St. David's, where they are

very numerous, and the salaries allowed the curates by the impropriators too mean and inconsiderable to make a tolerable maintenance. The bishop applied himself to several of these impropriators, in hopes to have prevailed with them to advance their salaries to a competent subsistence, having still a due regard to the number of inhabitants in each parish, and to the value of the profits they received from it. But the little success he met with in these applications put him upon inquiring how far it might lie in his own power to remedy this grievance, and redress the just complaints of the poor curates. And it was his opinion, that there was sufficient authority vested in the bishop to ascertain the salaries of all curates within his own diocese, whether they were employed under a clergyman or a lay-impropriator. As for the bishop's power in the former case, it was never questioned, and he saw no reason why it should not be allowed in the latter; and had my lord lived to have seen London once more, he designed to have discoursed his brethren the bishops on this momentous affair, and to have received farther advice and direction concerning it. For if the bishops have such a power, they ought by all means to insist upon it, when it is so plain and evident, that a due exercise of that part of the episcopal authority would be of such great advantage at this time towards promoting the Christian religion, as professed in the Church of England; for the slender salaries of these impropriators make it impossible to have those places served by able ministers; and where such are wanting, the dissenting teachers of all denominations, who are wise and industrious enough to improve all advantages against the church, will be sure to lay 1708.

1708. hold of such opportunities to set up their meeting-houses in such parishes, where they have so fair a prospect of making proselytes to their several parties. Nor must the lay-impropriators bear the blame of all the inconveniences the church suffereth upon this account; for though several colleges and chapters have, since the restoration, much augmented the cures which belong to them, yet it must be owned they are not all come in, to enlarge their allowances to the poor curates. When this good bishop was prebendary of Gloucester, that chapter made a strict inquiry into the value of the several vicarages which belonged to them, and made very handsome augmentations in those places where they were wanting; and I am informed, that the deans and chapters of Worcester, of Christ Church in Oxford, and of Carlisle, have long since considered the same matter to the same good purposes; and it is to be wished, that other colleges and chapters would follow such good examples, and thereby effectually put a stop to those reproaches which have been thrown upon them, though if the allowances they make to the cures which belong to them were as mean and scanty as those of the lay-impropriators, yet I humbly conceive they would not be liable to the same reproach, since the application of the impropriated tithes and lands to the maintenance of scholars and dignitaries in cathedrals, is not so gross a perversion of the ends for which they were at first given, and so sacrilegious an abuse of them, as the alienation of them to lay-men, who do no service to the church; whereas the others are supposed to do some, though not exactly that for which those donations were given.

He pursued the same method in the government of his family, while he was bishop, which he practised during his confinement to a private station; his desire and endeavour was, to have it regulated according to that excellent form recommended to us in Scripture, by the examples of Joshua and David; and in order to introduce this, he took care, in the first place, to have them instructed in the principles of religion, and then gave them frequent and earnest exhortations to a holy life, and grave and friendly reproofs when necessary; to which he added a bright example of piety and devotion, that as by his instructions he taught them how to know their duty, so by the pattern he set before them, they might learn how to practise it. He had prayers in his family twice every day, morning and evening; and while he resided at Brecknock, he, and as many as could be spared, went constantly to public prayers at church. He continued the custom which he had always used, of having some religious exercises performed in his family upon a Sunday evening; and some part of that excellent book, called *The whole Duty of Man*, or of some other practical treatise in divinity, was read to them; which he designed chiefly for the benefit of the servants, who could not attend the public worship; but the bishop himself and all his family, as well as his servants, were present at it. And certainly, a day set apart, on purpose for the worship and honour of God, and the spiritual improvement of our souls, and for our preparation for eternity, ought chiefly to be employed to such religious ends; and masters of families cannot better discharge the great trust which is reposed in them upon such occasions, than by instructing their chil-

1708.

The manner of governing his family while he was bishop.

1708. dren, servants, and other dependents, in the necessary knowledge of religion, and by raising their minds to a steady pursuit of those things which belong to their peace, before they are hid from their eyes. He was strict and careful in his inquiries concerning the character and behaviour of his servants, especially as it related to their absence from prayers, or to their neglect in not receiving the holy communion; even one of the last times he received the blessed sacrament, which was the Lord's day before he was confined by his last sickness, finding two of his servants to be absent, he sent for them, and severely reproved them for their neglect; and then declared, that he was fully determined, never to keep a servant in his house, that persisted in the omission of so great a duty, and therefore, if they had a mind to continue in his service, they must resolve to be constant communicants.

His several methods of charity.

LXXVI. As the good bishop's income increased, so did the exercise of his charity; and during the time of his sitting in that see, his hospitality and his alms were much too large for his revenues; but he never had so mean a design, as to [q] raise an estate from the income of any church preferment, and though he brought a good patrimony into the service of the church, yet when God called him to his rest he left none behind him. He contented himself to make a very slender provision for his family, which, with God's blessing, he esteemed the best inheritance.

[q] Gloria episcopi est pauperum opibus providere. Ignominia omnium sacerdotum propriis studere divitiis. *S. Hieron. ad Nepotianum.*

His doors were always thronged with the poor and needy, who found comfort and support from his bounty; and all the time he lived at Brecknock, which is a very poor town, about sixty necessitous people, truly indigent, were fed with meat, or served with money, every Lord's day at dinner time; and he allowed very largely to widows and orphans in the same place, and sent liberally to relieve the distress of necessitous prisoners; and sad were the cries and lamentations of those destitute wretches, when the bishop was forced to leave that place for a freer air at Abermarless, which was a little more than half a year before he died. 1708.

As he had made large expenses in repairing the parsonage houses of Suddington and Avening, where he had been rector for several years, which amounted at least to five hundred pounds; so now he procured the college chapel at Brecknock, part whereof was fallen down, to be put into that good repair in which it appears at present; but towards the effecting of this, he prevailed with the far greatest part of the prebendaries to allow one half year's reserved rent.

He was very charitable to poor clergymen's widows or children, when they came to compound for their mortuaries. Now a mortuary is a customary duty, supposed to be due for tithes and oblations neglected to be paid by the deceased; so that it is not due by law, as my lord [r] Coke observeth, but by custom. And it was not only customary to pay this duty, but it was usual to bring it to the church when the corpse was buried, and then to offer it as a satisfaction

[r] 2d Instit. p. 491.

1708. for the supposed negligence in substracting tithes, and from hence, as [s] Mr. Selden tells us, it was called a *corse-present.* His method upon such occasions was this: when any clergyman died poor, or but in indifferent circumstances, and left many children behind him, and those unprovided for, he always remitted the mortuary, and gave them some good exhortations; and in order the better to make them effectual, he administered to them some seasonable relief, by way of present, if the difficulty of their case required it. And it is farther asserted, by those who were intimately acquainted with his lordship's proceedings, that he was very kind to all his clergy in their compositions, and to prevent any oppression from the management of his steward, he gave himself the trouble of settling these matters. And it is the opinion of some that very well understand this affair, that it would be of great importance to the welfare of that diocese, if some certain method could be fixed on to make clergymen's widows more easy in this respect.

Sometimes in the dispositions of his charity the bishop had a particular regard to the good of souls; and because it is very difficult to instruct those in the necessary principles of religion, who are grown old in ignorance, he therefore enticed such by a pecuniary allowance to submit themselves to receive knowledge. It is certain, that the extremities of old age participate in some degree of the weak and helpless condition of childhood, and what makes it still much more lamentable is, when the mind, for

[s] *History of Tythes,* 287. Sir William Dugdale, in his *Antiquities of Warwickshire,* hath a learned discourse upon mortuaries, p. 679.

want of due cultivation in the preceding stages of life, is altogether destitute of those Christian principles which should then support and comfort it. And therefore a charity of this nature, which endeavoured to repair the omissions of a neglected education, was of the greatest importance; because persons in that condition stood upon the brink of eternity, without having made that provision which was necessary to secure the happiness of so great a change. He allowed therefore twelve pence a week apiece to twelve old people of Brecknock, upon condition that they would submit to learn the principles of the Christian religion, and be ready and willing to give an account of them. 1708.

When the bishop came to live at Brecknock, they had public prayers in that place only upon Wednesdays and Fridays, but by his care during his stay there, they have prayers now every morning and evening in the week. The method he took to establish this daily exercise of devotion was briefly this: upon his visiting the college in that town, he made the following proposal to the prebendaries, that, whereas they had each of them a certain yearly stipend under the name of a pension, out of their respective prebends, towards reading of daily prayers in the college chapel, which by reason of its distance from the body of the town, were very little frequented, and indeed hardly by any but the scholars of the free-school, which is adjoining to it; those pensions should for the future be applied to encourage the vicar of Brecknock to perform daily the morning and evening service in the town church, or chapel, as it is usually called. This proposal appeared to them so reasonable, that they all readily

1708. agreed to it. By this means the vicarage is considerably augmented, and the college prayers are still kept up for the benefit of the scholars, to whom chiefly they could be of use since the ruin of the college; the master of the school having ever since discharged that duty; and the bishop for his encouragement gave him a prebend just by the town, with design that it might for ever be annexed to the school.

And whereas at Caermarthen they had only morning prayers upon week days when his lordship first came to that town, he set up also constant evening prayers; and towards this additional labour he allowed the curate the yearly synodals of the archdeaconry; to which Mr. Archdeacon Tenison, who is very ready to contribute to all works of charity and piety, being then upon the place, added twenty shillings a year out of his revenue there, and the prayers are still kept up and well frequented.

He designed to have sent a circular letter to all his clergy, a rough draught whereof was drawn up.

LXXVII. Some time before his last sickness, after he removed from Brecknock to Abermarless, he entertained thoughts of addressing to all his clergy, by way of a circular letter, in order to recommend to their consideration, and press upon their practice, some very important methods for promoting virtue and piety in his diocese; and after his death there was found among his papers a letter drawn up to that purpose. It is certain that it had not his last hand, and wants that perfection which usually attended whatever he composed; but however, because the matter of it is unexceptionable, and the design of it hath a great tendency to advance the interest of religion; and because it sheweth at the same time how the thoughts of the good bishop were

to the last fixed upon the service of his great Master, in forwarding the good of souls, I shall insert it in this place, begging indulgence from the reader for any defects that may appear in a plan which was not finished by his lordship. 1708.

To the Reverend the Archdeacons and the rest of the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's.

MY BRETHREN,

BEING desirous, according to my duty, to promote the salvation of those souls which the providence of God hath, in a particular manner, committed to my care; and being sensible that this great work can be no otherwise effected, than by advancing the interest and power of religion in the hearts and lives of men: give me leave to suggest to you, my brethren, my fellow-labourers in the Lord, some few methods, which I conceive may be of admirable use to this purpose; which, if we are so happy as to accomplish, will greatly tend to the increase of piety and virtue in my diocese, and enable us all to give up our accounts at the last great day, when we shall appear before the tribunal of Christ, with joy, and not with grief. The design of this letter.

The *first* thing therefore that I would recommend to you, and which I do earnestly exhort you to, is *to apply yourselves with great diligence to establish the practice of family devotion in all the families of your respective parishes.* I need not prove to you what is so very manifest, that nothing helpeth more to keep up a sense of religion in the minds of men, than a serious, reverent, and constant performance of this necessary duty; whereby both the glory of God is much advanced, and many blessings do The first thing recommended, the establishing family devotion.

1708. also accrue to those who in this manner daily adore and praise their great Creator, the Lover of souls. But in order to this purpose, I must with some warmth beseech you to make a particular application to every housekeeper in your several parishes, and to endeavour to convince them, if need be, how much it is their interest, as well as duty, to worship God daily in their families; since it is not only the properest expression of their own piety, but the likeliest method to make their children and servants obedient and faithful: and I would farther advise you to second your exhortations of this kind with recommending to them some small books, which explain and press this duty, and lay down forms for the performance of it. I am assured that there are several[t] books of this kind to be purchased at very easy rates; and I could wish, that your own abilities, or the assistance of some charitable and well-disposed neighbour, might lodge these *gratis* in the families of the poorer sort;

[t] Books of this kind are, viz.

The Necessary Duty of Family Prayer. Price 1*d.* or 6*s.* per hundred.

Exhortation to Housekeepers to set up the Worship of God in their Families, with daily Prayers for Morning and Evening. Price 1*d.* or 6*s.* per hundred.

The Necessity of Family Prayer, and the deplorable Condition of prayerless Families considered, with Prayers for their Use. Price 1*d.* or 6*s.* per hundred.

All three printed by J. Downing, in Bartholomew-close.

Family Devotion; or, an Exhortation to Morning and Evening Prayer, with two Forms suited thereunto, as also for private use. By E. Gibson, D. D. Printed for R. Whitledge. Price 3*d.* or 20*s.* per hundred.

Family Religion; or the Exercise of Prayer and Devotion in private Families. Printed for B. Aylmer. Price 2*d.* or 10*s.* per hundred.

though if you procure a sufficient number of such books, it is not to be doubted, but that when your parishioners think them necessary, they will readily pay for the same, the price being so very inconsiderable. 1708.

These your exhortations, and procuring books to that purpose, being backed with your frequent and repeated admonitions, will, I hope, by the assistance of divine grace, bring all your parishioners to the constant and serious practice of *family prayer*; especially if you represent to them at the same time the great importance of exercising this duty, not only as it relates to the propagating of true piety and religion in the present age, but also as it tends to the securing of them in all future ages. For the example of parents and masters will, in all probability, make such deep impressions upon the minds of their children and servants, as to excite them to an imitation of their practice, whenever they shall become themselves masters of families; and so then this duty will not only be observed in their families at present; but probably also in all those families that shall descend and issue from them for ever.

And to make this exercise of family devotion still more useful, you must farther exhort them, when they have leisure, as they often have on winter evenings, especially on Sundays, to introduce their family prayers with reading some portions of holy Scripture, and of other pious and religious books proper to instruct and persuade them to the diligent discharge of all Christian virtues.

And since it is matter of great grief and sorrow to all those who unfeignedly labour in the Gospel, and are intrusted with the care of precious and im-

1708. mortal souls, to observe in their several parishes the habitual neglect of this duty, upon the constant use whereof the spiritual welfare of their parishioners doth so much depend; I cannot forbear solemnly charging you to exert yourselves with more than ordinary zeal in this matter; that so this affair of such great consequence to the good of souls, may in your several parishes be brought to its wished-for and desired perfection.

The second thing recommended, is erecting charity schools.

The *second* thing that I shall recommend and earnestly exhort you to, as of singular use towards promoting religion in a wicked and degenerate age, is *to endeavour the erecting charity-schools in your several parishes;* wherein the children of the poor may be taught to read and write, and to repeat our excellent Church Catechism, and to understand the principles of our holy religion, which are so necessary to their eternal salvation; and whereby they may be fitted to receive farther instructions from those discourses you shall from time to time make to them from the pulpit. It is not to be doubted but that a great part of that profaneness and debauchery, which prevails among the poorer sort, is very much owing to that gross ignorance of religion, which abounds among them: now what remedy so proper to prevent this fatal mischief, as the Christian education of poor children under strict discipline? And this ought the rather to be attempted, because I am informed many poor people in this diocese are very desirous that their children should receive the benefit of such an education, though they are not able to be at the charge of procuring it for them.

This I do the more heartily recommend to you,

because it hath already been blessed, by the gracious providence of God, with great success in many other parts of the kingdom, especially in and about the cities of London and Westminster; where there are not only great numbers of children instructed *gratis*, in the principles of the Christian religion, but are also placed out to several different occupations, and by degrees made useful members of the commonwealth. And indeed I hardly know any charity that is attended with greater advantages to the souls and bodies of poor creatures, than this which I now recommend to you. 1708.

In order to this purpose, I beseech you to apply yourselves to such of your parishioners as are willing to contribute towards the carrying on this very good work, and who are able by their subscriptions to answer the necessary expense which attends it. Lead them by your own example, and upon this occasion do not fail to throw your mite into the treasury. Neither you nor they, I am satisfied, will ever be able to employ your alms better, nor direct your charity to nobler purposes. As to the methods of erecting and governing these charity-schools, they are laid down with so much judgment and exactness in the *Account of Charity Schools*, that is annually printed at London, and distributed all over the kingdom, that I shall suggest nothing to you upon that head, but desire you to consult that *Account*, and seriously to peruse it for your farther direction.

And since I am upon the subject of instructing children, I desire you to signify to all schoolmasters within your several parishes, that they take care to use prayers in their schools morning and evening;

1708. and that they not only instruct their scholars in the Church Catechism, but also teach them short prayers for their private use, obliging them never to omit repeating them morning and evening. And I desire you to inquire frequently, how the schoolmasters of your several parishes discharge these abovementioned duties; it being of the greatest consequence to the welfare both of the church and the state, that all children should be religiously and piously educated. And therefore I require you from time to time to signify to me the names of such schoolmasters as, after your repeated admonitions, shall neglect their duty as to the aforesaid particulars, that their licenses may be revoked, and that they may be declared for the future incapable of so great a trust.

The third thing recommended, is a library of books of practical divinity for youth.

A *third* thing that I shall recommend to you, as very useful towards propagating Christian knowledge, is *to endeavour to dispose all parents that are of ability in your several parishes, to supply each of their children, before they marry, or are otherwise settled in the world, with a small* [u] *library, containing books of practical divinity to the value of three, four, or five pounds, fixed in a little press with shelves proper for that purpose.* This will make any portion that parents are able to bestow upon their children a true blessing; and indeed is a very valuable present, since it tends so directly to provide for the welfare of their immortal souls. And

[u] There has been since printed a sheet of paper, called *The young Christian's Library*; or a collection of good and useful books, proper to be given to young persons by their parents, in order to their Christian education and improvement, &c. Printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew-close, near West-Smithfield.

to render this most effectual, they ought to enjoin their children, at the same time they make them this present of books, to read them often and seriously, and to keep them with care and safety during their lives, and then to leave them in the same good condition to their posterity; by which means the knowledge of religion may be propagated from age to age in all future generations. 1780.

The *fourth* thing I shall recommend to you, is *to give notice to all your parishioners, that the Common Prayer Book in Welsh is lately printed in a small volume, and sold by Mr. Whitledge, bookseller, in Ave-Maria-lane, at London; and by Mr. Thomas Jones at Shrewsbury; so that all your parishioners may supply themselves therewith.* These Common Prayer Books are much wanted by the people of my diocese, and I am informed, that they will be universally purchased, especially since they will be sold for about eighteenpence apiece. And to facilitate this matter, and make it easy to your parishioners, I would advise you to collect money of them, in order to buy such quantities as may supply their occasions; that by this means they may quickly and easily be dispersed through the whole diocese. The fourth thing recommended, the Welsh Common Prayer Book.

I need not suggest to you the advantages that will arise from your success in this matter: they appear at first sight, and a little consideration will make them familiar to you. And that the poor may be brought to give their attendance in the house of God, I conceive it may be very proper for you to persuade the gentlemen, and other persons of ability within your several parishes, who usually on

1708. Sundays relieve the poor at their own doors, to confine that charity to such as have that day been at church; and, if it may be convenient, even to give their alms at the church doors. This method will in all probability excite the poor to diligence, in attending the public worship of God.

The fifth thing recommended, to procure the laws to be put in execution against vice and immorality.

The *fifth* thing that I shall recommend to you, and to which I do most earnestly exhort you, is, *that you would endeavour to use your interest with the justices of the peace in the other counties of my diocese, to follow the example of those of Caermarthen:* where several worthy justices of the peace have exerted themselves with great vigour, to suppress vice and immorality, as appears by the underwritten paper, which they subscribed in open quarter-sessions, and which afterwards was dispersed into every parish of the said county; and which, as I am informed, hath had a wonderful influence upon the lives and manners of the people.

The making of the best laws is but of small importance, if no care is taken to put them in execution; they shew indeed the wisdom of those that have contrived and enacted them; but they will leave us where they found us, except magistrates put on vigour and resolution, to render them effectual to the purposes for which they were designed. This duty was urged upon all the magistrates of the kingdom, by her majesty herself, upon her happy accession to the throne, as one of her first cares for the welfare of her people; and indeed, it tendeth so apparently to the honour of God, as well as to the good of all her majesty's subjects, that it is no wonder that it should be so particularly the concern

of a princess, who is distinguished by her zeal for both. 1708.

You may farther strengthen the example of the justices of the peace of Caermarthen with the practice of several worthy societies in this kingdom, who (to their true honour be it spoken) zealously labour in this good work of reformation of manners. I do therefore most heartily recommend them both to their imitation, and exhort you to solicit their compliance with this my recommendation, in regard such extraordinary success hath attended the proceedings of the gentlemen in the county of Caermarthen; and that by the endeavours of the societies many thousands of lewd and disorderly persons have been brought to legal punishment.

There is one instance more of the good dispositions of the justices of the peace of Caermarthenshire, which I desire you to lay before the justices of the peace of the other counties of my diocese; and which I require you to exhort them to imitate; viz. the method they take of providing for the spiritual wants of poor prisoners in their county gaol, by allowing a salary of five pounds per annum to a clergyman, to read to them divine service every Lord's day, and frequently to administer to them the comfortable sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

I shall conclude this long letter, with praying to God, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift, that he would enable you by his grace to perform what I have recommended to you, as tending very much to the honour and service of our great Master; and that he would be pleased to bless your

1708. sincere endeavours with success: and at the same time I do assure you that I am,

My dear brethren,
Your most affectionate brother
and humble servant,
GEORGE ST. DAVID'S.

The paper mentioned to be underwritten.

WHEREAS the queen has issued forth her several proclamations, for suppressing vice and immorality; wherein she strictly enjoins all magistrates to put the laws impartially in execution against all persons that are guilty of profane cursing and swearing, profanation of the Lord's day, or any other vice and immorality; and whereas there has been a general defect in putting the laws in execution against such offenders, both in England and Wales, until lately the magistrates, in pursuance of the said several proclamations in England, have exerted themselves vigorously and impartially on these occasions, and have given countenance and encouragement to those persons that gave informations of the commission of the said crimes: therefore we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, being magistrates in the county of Caermarthen, do look upon ourselves to be under an indispensable duty to follow their good example; and we do hereby unanimously declare, that we will impartially put the laws in execution against all such persons, that shall curse and swear, and profane the Lord's day, or commit any other vice or immorality. And also we declare, that we will give all due countenance and encouragement to all such persons, that shall give us information of

these crimes, being sensible, that they do the greatest acts of charity to the guilty persons, in endeavouring their reformation. And we do hereby farther declare and promise voluntarily, in order to silence an objection usually made, that magistrates are guilty, and do not pay; that we will pay any forfeiture we shall incur by the commission of the said crimes, being convinced that the poor have a right to it by law, and whosoever detains it will do an act of injustice; therefore no person must expect favour or connivance, since we are so impartial to ourselves. And we do hereby earnestly request the reverend the clergy of the several parishes of this county, to cause this to be written in a fair hand on parchment; and afterwards that they cause the churchwardens of their several parishes to fix it on a board, and frame it in; that it may be kept safe, and hung out at the church door duly every year three times, viz. at Whitsuntide, Easter, and Christmas, by the sextons of the several parishes, and at all times that the act of parliament against cursing and swearing is read in the churches; that all persons may be reminded often of these our resolutions, and to avoid the commission of the aforesaid crimes. Given under our hands, at open quarter-sessions, the sixth day of October, 1708. 1708.

THOMAS POWELL.
GRIFFITH LLOYD.
WILLIAM BRIGSTOCK.
THOMAS LLOYD.
HENRY VAUGHAN.
JOHN VAUGHAN.

1708. LXXVIII. One great means of maintaining the purity of the faith among the people, and discipline among the clergy in the primitive times, was the constant residence of the bishop in his diocese; and the absence of prelates from that district committed to their particular superintendance hath been attended with fatal consequences to the churches under their government. The description which our Saviour maketh of the good shepherd seemeth to require their attendance; for how *shall he know his sheep by their name*, and how shall *he walk before them*, if he doth not constantly reside among them? And how shall any irregularities among the clergy be either prevented or rectified, when the episcopal authority is wanting to both purposes? The nature of the bishop's office, before settled revenues were affixed to bishoprics, required his constant attendance; for he had a particular authority in disposing the incomes of the church, and it was his care to see them managed to the best advantage. The ancient [x] councils have several canons, which require that all the incomes and oblations should be dispensed by the will and discretion of the bishop, to whose care the people and the souls of men are committed. The apostolical canons mention the same power; and though he had proper assistants under him, yet they were only stewards of his own appointing, and were accountable to him as the supreme governor of his church. And when the empire became Christian, and churchmen became too secular, councils took care to regulate this matter: for the council of Sar-

The bishop resided constantly in his diocese.

[x] Mr. Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, &c. vol. ii. p. 384.

dica hath several canons which relate to it. The seventh decreeth, that no bishop should go to the emperor's court, unless the emperor by letter called him thither: the very next canon to that provides, that whereas there might be cases which might require a bishop to make some application to the emperor in behalf of the poor or widows, or of such who fled for sanctuary to the church, as condemned criminals, and the like; in such cases the deacons of the church were to be employed to go in his name, that the bishop might fall under no censure at court as neglecting the business of his church. Justinian hath a law of the same import, that no bishop should appear at court upon any business of his church, without the command of his prince. But if any petition was preferred to the emperor relating to any civil contest, the bishop should depute his apocrisiarius or resident at court to act for him, or send his œconomus, or some other of his clergy, to solicit the cause in his name, that the church might never receive damage by his absence, nor be put to unnecessary expenses. Another canon of the Sardican council limits the absence of the bishop to three weeks, unless it were upon some very weighty and urgent occasion. And another canon alloweth no more time for a bishop who is possessed of an estate to go and collect his revenues; and that with this condition, provided he celebrates divine service every Lord's day in the country church where his estate lieth. Our worthy bishop, in order to pursue his duty according to the directions of the great Shepherd of souls, chose his diocese for the only place of his residence; and by that means he made some amends for that imperfect manner wherewith he 1708.

1708. performed the administrations of his holy function; which did not proceed from negligence or any want of a right intention to discharge them, but from his weakness and infirmities, and from that load of years under which he now laboured.

The bishop extremely surprised by a Simoniacal priest.

It is a common observation, that the best things by corruption become the worst; but I am sure it holds good in no case so surely as in those that undertake the priestly office; who if they contradict their ordination vows in the constant course of their lives, if they are false to those engagements which they solemnly entered into before God and the church, they become the greatest and most desperate sinners; their guilt is attended with the highest aggravation, and with the least hopes of repentance. An instance of such a deplorable wretch bishop Bull once met with; for while he lived at Brecknock, there was a certain clergyman applied to him for preferment, and being conscious of his want of those qualifications which the bishop required in those he advanced to any considerable station, he was resolved to try another method; for bad men, judging of others by themselves, easily persuade themselves, that other men are influenced by those corrupt principles which prevail in their own minds; he had the impudence to offer him a purse of gold; the good bishop saw it and trembled, and was never known to express a greater concern than upon that occasion; the confusion he was in upon such an unexpected provocation extremely disordered him, and he immediately sent away this abandoned prostitute with great indignation.

He impaired his trength

LXXIX. The bishop by the method of his studies

contracted several indispositions of body, such as commonly attend all hard students, especially if they make choice of the night for that purpose. But though this was agreeable enough to his genius, and very serviceable to the ends he proposed by it; yet he was at last convinced of its fatal effects upon his whole constitution, which he thereby found sensibly broken. All the time he continued in the diocese of St. David's he was sickly, never being well long together; colds, and other distempers which take thence their rise, created him almost continually some uneasiness in his body, the entire frame whereof he perceived to be mightily impaired; and particularly his eyesight, the decay of which he attributed to nothing else but his studying so much at unseasonable hours.

1708. by intense and unreasonable study.

In this uncertain state of health, without any considerable alteration, he continued till the 27th of September, 1709. That morning he was seized with a most violent fit of coughing, which by the violence of the fit ended at last in spitting of blood, which he lost that way in considerable quantities for some hours. But this spitting of blood was by degrees stopped for the present by his drinking two or three glasses of cold water. The next day his bleeding returned about the same hour, but could not then be stopped without opening a vein, at which he bled very freely, which succeeded as well as could be expected. The loss of so much blood every way, together with the usual regimen prescribed him in that distemper, whereby he was restrained from all nourishing meats and all strong drinks, did so weaken him, that it quite broke that little strength of constitution which still remained; so that when

1709. An account of his last sickness.

1709. his last sickness seized him in February following, he had not strength enough to bear up long under it. For his distemper was supposed to have been an ulcer, or what they call the inward piles, occasioned by stagnated blood in the hæmorrhoid veins, which under a violent looseness affected him with great and exquisite pain; so that the whole time of his confinement did not exceed a fortnight.

1710. His apprehension of the approach of death.

As soon as his distemper obliged him to keep his chamber, he perceived that his dissolution was near at hand; and accordingly declared, "That he was "now sensible of his own decay, and that he was "sure he could not live many days." His physicians seemed to incline to the same opinion after some short attendance; though they expressed themselves herein with some hesitation and reserve; which the good bishop perceiving, thus addressed himself to one of them; *Doctor, you need not be afraid to tell me freely what your opinion of me is; for I thank my good God I am not afraid to die: it is what I have expected long ago; and I hope I am not unprepared for it now.* Repentance and mortification had been so much the happy work of his strongest and healthful days, that when death approached, he received the summons, not only with resignation, but with some degree of satisfaction. He had wisely made such a careful preparation for his last hours, that he was now able to bear the thoughts and approaches of his great change without amazement; he had overcome that strong inclination of nature, whereby men usually cleave so fast to life, by the wiser dictates of reason and religion, which made him willing and contented to die whenever God thought fit.

This sense of his approaching departure out of the world made him careful not to omit any thing that could be now done both for himself and family, for the better securing their common interest and salvation. During the time therefore of his confinement he would often have the family to prayers in his chamber at the usual hour; and the prayers for the sick in the office of the *Visitation* were added upon those occasions, and sometimes the Litany. The prayers for the sick were frequently repeated during the whole time of his illness, at which he expressed always great devotion. He would sometimes desire to receive absolution in the form used in the Communion-office, which he thought came nearer to the precatory forms of absolution mentioned in the Fathers than any other. But it doth not appear that he hereby condemned the use of that form, which is, at least in some cases, prescribed by our excellent church in her office for the Visitation of the Sick, or that he had any doubt concerning the benefits of sacerdotal absolution, or of that authority which is derived to the ministers or delegates of Christ of forgiving the penitent their sins *in his name*; since in his last acts of preparation for death he earnestly desired it, and solemnly received it. None can deny that the form of absolution by him chosen is certainly primitive, and therefore unexceptionable; whether the other be so or no, hath been disputed by the learned; and he had a right to choose that against which no exception could lie. This evidently was the case of this excellent prelate; and upon this account, I suppose, he desired no other form of absolution than this, which was undoubtedly most ancient, a few days before his death; when in

1710.

His immediate preparation for death.

1710. the presence of several persons he made a solemn confession and declaration of the conduct of his whole life, and so took his leave of the world in a manner the most edifying that could be. Mr. Bull his son, Mr. Archdeacon Stephens his son-in-law, and Mr. Philips, a clergyman of that neighbourhood, besides his own chaplain Mr. Havard, were of the number of those that were present with him during his sickness, who were edified not a little with what they heard from his mouth; and have all attested, that he bore his last sufferings with a resigned temper and firmness of mind, which nothing but the grace of God and the consciousness of a well-spent life could inspire, so that they never knew a warmer example, to influence all within the reach of it to a just sense of their own duty.

The confession of his faith, and general review of his life.

First the bishop made a public confession of his *faith* in the words of the Apostles' Creed. Then he gave a short account of his life, running over the several stages of it, making useful remarks upon the principal passages which occurred in each stage; recounting the several errors and miscarriages which attended them, as far as he could recollect them by his memory at that time. From the former he took occasion to admire the goodness and wisdom of divine Providence in the disposal of all the events of things and conditions of men in the world: and to bless God for all his dispensations towards himself in particular, whether of good or evil things, in the whole course of his life.

His repentance and ground of hope for the remission of sins.

The latter gave him occasion to renew his sorrow and repentance for them, and for all the other offences in his life past, which he might have forgotten, or could not at present recollect; for all which

he expressed his earnest desire of mercy and for- 1710.
giveness in some short but fervent prayers and
ejaculations. And because what he now did was perfectly conformable to that *public profession* which he had formerly made when he was in health, and with the prospect of such an hour as this, the reader perhaps will not be sorry to have here a copy of it, which is as followeth: "[y] I most firmly "believe," said he, "that as I yield a steadfast assent "to the Gospel of Christ, and as I work out true "repentance by that faith, shaking off, by the grace "of God, the yoke of every deadly sin, and in earn- "est devoting myself to the observation of his "evangelical law; I shall obtain by the sovereign "mercy of God the Father, for the merits only of "Jesus Christ his Son, and my Lord and Saviour, "who offered up himself unto the Father a truly "expiatory sacrifice for my sins, and for the sins "of the whole world, the full remission of all my "past sins, be they never so many and great. But "then I have no otherwise any confidence of my "sins being forgiven me, or of my being in a state "of grace and salvation, but as by a serious examin- "ation of my conscience, made according to the "rule of the Gospel, there shall be evidence of the "sincerity of my faith and repentance. And I "believe, moreover, that while I bring forth fruits "worthy of faith and repentance, and while I not "only abstain from those crimes, which, according "to the Gospel, exclude a man from heaven, but do "diligently likewise exercise myself in good works, "both those of piety towards God, and those of

[y] Apolog. pro Harmonia, Sect. ii. 3.

1710. " charity towards my neighbour; so long I may pre-
" serve the grace that is given me, of remission and
" justification: and that if I *die in this state*, I am
" in the way of obtaining by it the mercy of God,
" and eternal life and salvation for the sake of Jesus
" Christ. I believe yet that I may fall away; and
" after having received the Holy Ghost, may, as our
" church speaketh, depart from grace: and that
" therefore I ought to work out my salvation *with*
" *fear and trembling*. I believe also, that in the
" Gospel there is pardon promised to all that fall,
" let it be never so often, so that they do, before
" their death, *renew* their repentance, and do again
" their first works; but then there is not any where
" promised to them either space of life, or grace,
" that they may repent. I believe there is given to
" some persons a certain *extraordinary* grace, ac-
" cording to the good pleasure of God; but I ac-
" count it the greatest madness, for any one there-
" fore to presume upon such a grace, or to challenge
" ought for himself, beyond the promises of God
" which are made in the Gospel. And lastly, it is
" my firm belief, that throughout the whole course
" of my salvation, from the very first setting out,
" to the end thereof, the grace and assistance of
" God's Spirit is absolutely necessary: and that I
" never have done, and never can do, any spiritual
" good without Christ, is my full and certain per-
" suasion."

This is the confession of his faith, which he had made about four and thirty years before to all the world, and to which he now adhered at his death; even as to those very articles wherein he stood most of all suspected for some time, and for the explica-

tion of which in his books he was loudly but injudiciously censured by a great many, as hath been before observed, for approaching too near Pelagianism and Socinianism. For because he was not for making the grace of God a cloak for man's idleness; and was of the opinion, that none ought to expect it, but they that *pray* for it, and none could reap the fruit of it, but they who added *watching* to it; this was misconstrued as a detracting from grace, and a depreciating of the most precious blood of Christ, notwithstanding all his remonstrances to the contrary. In pursuance, therefore, of those principles he had so well defended in his health, and in conformity with the church's directions, this close of his life, and last most solemn act of it, designed to recapitulate the whole, was exactly by him adjusted: while to his faith he added thus repentance, and to repentance charity, as the life and soul of them both; and casting himself, after having done all, upon the infinite mercies of God, and the inestimable merits of Christ, with the deepest sense of his own unworthiness, thereby expressed the true and only way of justification which he had chosen. Of which he had long before said, "[z] *This is the way of salvation, which by God's grace I have entered into, or at least have desired to enter into, which I have therefore chosen, because it is clearly set forth to me in the holy Scriptures, and is a trodden and a safe way, which all catholic Christians, for fifteen hundred years at least from our Saviour's birth, have trodden before me:* and which was now ratified by this his last authentic act and deed, 1710.

[z] Apol. Sect. ii. 3.

1710. made before many witnesses. For having now solemnly professed his faith, that he might testify to them his earnest desire of dying in the communion of the apostles; and adored the most wise and gracious providence of God towards him, upon a faithful review of the good and evil of his life past, from his first setting out, to the last period of it; he gave glory to God in the profound humiliation of his soul, and by suitable acts of contrition, adapted to the several parts of his life, magnified the grace of his Redeemer, calling upon him by faith with great fervency, for inward purification and perfect remission of his sins. Which devout acts and aspirations, expressing the sincerity of his faith and repentance, he signified in the style of all the saints, and concluded in the very words of the prophet David, *Who can tell how oft he offendeth? O cleanse thou me from my secret faults.*

His charity, and forgiveness of enemies.

After this, the good bishop expressed his *charity* in all the branches of it, as far as he was then able to do it; namely, in an hearty desire of *forgiveness* from all those whom he had offended or misused, and in a cheerful readiness to *forgive* those who had done him any hurt or injury. As to the other branch of charity, that of *giving*, he had done it in so generous and plentiful a manner all his lifetime, that he did not express any great concern, that the circumstances of his family were now such, as would not admit of any act of charity of this kind: this he concluded likewise with suitable prayers and intercessions.

His profession concerning the Church of England.

In the last place he professed, that as he had always lived, so he was now resolved to die, in the communion of the Church of England; and declared,

that he believed that it was the best constituted church this day in the world; for that its doctrine, government, and way of worship, were, in the main, the same with those of the primitive church. Here he put up some prayers for its peace and prosperity; and declaring again, that he was resolved to die in its communion, he desired *absolution*, and received it as before mentioned. And it is no wonder that on his deathbed the good bishop professed such an high esteem for the Church of England, since in the time of his health and greatest vigour he was used to express his zealous concern for her after the following manner: "I would not be so presumptuous "as to say positively, that I am able to bear so great "a trial; but according to my sincere thoughts of "myself, I could, through God's assistance, lay down "my life, upon condition that all those who dissent "from the Church of England were united in her "communion." 1710.

LXXX. The evening before he departed, his son-in-law, Mr. Archdeacon Stephens[z], arrived from a great journey, upon the news he received of his dangerous illness. The bishop embraced him with great satisfaction, when he raised himself up in his

The manner of his taking his solemn leave.

[z] [Rev. Joseph Stephens, archdeacon of Brecon and vicar of Clyro in Radnorshire. He was also rector of Suddington, where he died in 1735, and on his monument there we read—Hoc unicum illius memoriæ tradi sufficiat, quod doctissimo Præsuli Geo. Bullo et Patrono ejus munificentissimo charus fuit, negotiisque maximi momenti conjunctissimus. He married Anne the eldest of the bishop's daughters, who died in 1703, aged 41, and her epitaph in the church of Suddington St. Mary speaks of her as Mulieris patre suo dignæ, utpote eximia pietate gratiisque omnibus quæ sexum ornant ornatissimæ.]

1710. bed to give him his blessing. When Mr. Stephens expressed his great sorrow and concern, to find him in so great misery by the complaints he made, he told him, "he had endured a great deal, that he did "not think he had so much strength of nature, but "that now it was near being spent, and that in "God's good time he should be delivered." And when Mr. Stephens, in order to support him, urged that his reward would be great in heaven, the good bishop replied, "My trust is in God, through the "merits of Christ." And being prevented from enlarging, by the exquisiteness of his pains, he desired Mr. Stephens to retire, and refresh himself after his journey. Some little time after this, he told those that were about him, that he perceived he had some symptoms of the near approach of death; and ordered them to call the doctor to him. And when he came, he told him he thought he felt himself a dying; to which the doctor answered, that he could not say he would live many hours. Upon this, he sent for his wife and children, and the rest of his family, and desired them to pray with him and for him. And when prayers were over, he took his solemn leave of every one in particular; giving each of them some serious exhortation and advice. And this being done, he gave them his benediction, and dismissed them.

His care and affection for those that waited upon him.

He was moreover very careful, that none might do themselves an injury by their zealous attendance upon him, while they were not capable of doing him any farther good. Wherefore he charged his wife, as he did also his son-in-law, Mr. Stephens, to retire to their rest: and when the doctor offered to continue with him in his last hours, after their dismission,

he told him, "He would not have him impair his "health by sitting up with him; since he could not "be farther serviceable to him any other way, than "by praying for him, and that he might do in his "chamber." Nevertheless, he desired his son and daughter, and Mr. Havard his chaplain, with some others of the family, who were not in such danger of being hurt by it, to stay with him till he died; that they might assist him with their prayers, especially in his last agonies, when he should not be able to pray for himself. He thought now, and so indeed did all about him, that he could not last above an hour or two longer; and that, by the great weakness he was reduced to when his last sickness left him, and the pain he had endured since the beginning of his present distemper, the whole fabric, in a person of his age, was now so shattered, that the separation of the soul from the body could not be tedious or uneasy. But, contrary to all expectation, he held it out many hours under his last agonies. 1710.

What was observed of him in the agony of death.

He had his understanding and memory to the last, and that in as great strength and vigour as ever he had them in the remembrance of those that perfectly knew him. As an instance of which, the reader may take this remarkable passage. The night but one before he died, he sent for his son, Mr. Robert Bull, and after having given him his leave and order to publish his sermons, which are now printed, he commanded him to strike out the preface of his Visitation Sermon, which he said was too juvenile, and to make two or three alterations in another of his sermons, which alterations were taken from his mouth, and since performed. But what was surprising in this matter, was, that he had delivered

1710. these sermons to his son, at least six years before, and they were never so much as seen by his lordship afterwards. During the time of his last conflict, he scarce troubled himself, or those that waited upon him, with taking any thing. But he passed it all entirely in acts of piety and devotion. Sometime he joined with those that were present in the prayers of the office of the Visitation of the Sick; the latter part whereof was, by his direction, frequently repeated in this interval; but the greatest part of it he spent in pious meditations and private ejaculations; upon what subjects can be no farther guessed at, than by observing his eyes and hands frequently lifted up towards heaven, and sometimes tears and smiles, interchangeably succeeding each other in his countenance, one might think, that as the former were the attendants of his repentance and confessions, so the latter were the result of that joy and comfort which he felt in his mind, from the sense of the pardon of his sins, and of the peace and favour of a reconciled God; which might also receive no small addition at this juncture, from the near prospect he had of his deliverance from this mortal and painful life, and of his entrance into a state of everlasting happiness.

His repeated farewell and dying exhortations to his family.

When he found that he continued thus to live several hours longer than he expected, he sent again for his wife and children to his bed-side, to take his leave once more of them, and of the rest of the family that were up; and they say, he was even fuller now in his exhortations to them than before, and they were mighty well suited, and particularly applied, to the circumstances and conditions of the several persons to whom they were given. He recom-

mended his wife and children to the divine providence and protection in so moving and affectionate a manner, as is difficult to express: and he thanked all his servants for the pains they had taken with him in his sickness: and as for the rest, his exhortations ran chiefly upon general heads, such as the great importance of religion, the vanity of the world, the deceitful nature of riches and honours, and what miserable comforters they would prove at last; the inefficacy, or at least the great hazard and uncomfortable state of a deathbed repentance, and the absolute necessity of a holy life in order to a happy death; a life spent in the service of God, in doing good in the world, especially works of mercy and charity. These are the subjects which he endeavoured to impress upon the minds of those he left behind him; and then once more he gave them his solemn benediction. After this, he recommended his soul into the hands of his Creator, in several short but most excellent prayers, and repeated most part of the seventy-first Psalm, so far as it suited his circumstances, than which nothing could be more proper, to express his trust and dependence upon the power and goodness of God, and the continual want he had of his grace and assistance; moreover, he ordered his chaplain to use the commendatory prayer, when he perceived him to be at the point of expiring, which was accordingly done several times. 1710.

His death.

About nine in the morning his spirits began to sink, and his speech to falter, and a few minutes after, without any visible sign of pain or difficulty, with two gentle sighs, he resigned his soul to God,

1710. the 17th of February, $17\frac{0}{10}$[a]. The last word he spoke was *Amen*, to the commendatory prayer, which he repeated twice distinctly and audibly after his usual manner, a very little while before he died.

He was buried at Brecknock.

He was buried about a week after his death at Brecknock, and lies[b], as I am informed, between two of his predecessors, bishop Manwaring and bishop Lucy, and his funeral was attended with great numbers of the gentry and clergy, both of the county of Caermarthen and Brecknock. He had given strict charge, that the burden of his debts should not be increased by bestowing more expense upon his interment than what necessity and decency required. And upon this account it is thought, that when he was asked where he would be buried, whether at Caermarthen or Brecknock, he returned this answer, *Where the tree falleth, there let it lie;* meaning, that they should bury him in the parish church of Lhandovery; and what still farther inclined him to this determination, was the extraordinary value and respect which the bishop expressed to the memory of Mr. Rees Prichard, formerly vicar of that place, interred there, upon the account of his great and

[a] [According to Browne Willis he died at Abermarless; (see beginning of §. LXXVII.) but Jones, the historian of Brecknockshire, informs us, on the authority of an old lady who lived in Brecknock, that in consequence of some casual repairs at his house at the college, he resided for a short time before his death at the house of the historian's father, in the Lion-lane in Brecknock, and that he died there. This lady described him as a venerable old man with silvery white hair, and recollected receiving from him his blessing not many days before his death within this house.]

[b] [Within the communion rails. *Jones.*]

celebrated piety, and the usefulness of his excellent poems in the Welsh tongue; which are in very great repute among the inhabitants of that country, as well for the plainness of the language, and the easiness and smoothness of the measures, as for the importance of the subjects upon which he wrote; the whole book being in a manner an entire body of practical divinity, in which several of the natives, even those that are illiterate, are so well versed, that they will very pertinently quote authorities out of this book for their faith and practice. But the bishop was prevailed upon by the desire of his wife to consent to be buried at Brecknock, it being the place where she designed to pass her sorrowful widowhood, and consequently thereby should have an assurance of lying in the same grave with him; and the matter was so ordered, that in making the bishop's grave she gave directions to have it done up with walls every way, and so large as to contain two corpses. And it hath pleased God very lately, since I begun the Life of her excellent husband, to call her to rest[c], and she is now reposed with this pious prelate in that silent retirement she had provided for herself, till the last trump shall summon them both to judgment; [d]*And the Lord grant unto them that they may find mercy of the Lord in that day.* His grave is covered with a plain stone, and the short inscription upon it which follows was framed and ordered by his pious widow, who was so satisfied with it herself, that she would not suffer it to be cast into any other form. 1710.

[c] [She died 16th November, 1712, aged 75.]

[d] 2 Tim. i. 18.

1710.

HERE LIETH
THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
DR. GEORGE BULL,
LATE BISHOP OF THIS DIOCESE;
WHO WAS EXCELLENTLY LEARNED,
PIOUS, AND CHARITABLE;
AND WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
FEBRUARY THE 17th, 1709,
AGED 75[e].

[e] [This inscription is within the communion rails: on the north wall is a monument erected by his son-in-law archdeacon Stephens, containing a much longer epitaph, which was probably written by him. It seems not to have been put up till after 1715, in which year Browne Willis surveyed this church, and copied the English inscription, but makes no mention of the other. It is as follows:—

M. S.

Reverendi admodum Georgii Bull, cujus magnum nomen nulla capit tabula, nulla delebit ætas. Qualis fidei Sanctis olim traditæ ab impiis Socinistarum ac Solfidianorum dogmatibus vindex extiterit, quam indefessus veterum primævæ Ecclesiæ patrum lector, quamque felix et moribus et scriptis imitator fuerit, soli norunt Eruditissimi: publicam erga omnes pariter homines munificentiam experti sunt quotquot erant egeni: privatam erga Deum pietatem unus novit pios qui remunerat Deus. Natus erat civitate Wellensi et stirpe generosa, a prima etiam infantia sacerdotio designatus, quod iniquissimis temporibus et afflictissimo Ecclesiæ statu, nempe circiter annum 1656[um], ab Episcopo Oxoniensi suscepit. Restituta deinceps Ecclesia scribendo potentissimos sibi conflavit inimicos, cum quibus aliquandiu luctatus denuo emersit, factus primum canonicus Glocestrensis et deinde A. D. Landavensis, A. D. 1686[o]. Doctoris gradum ab inclyta Oxoniensi Academia ultro oblatum pro incomparabili Nicenæ Fidei Defensione aliisque scriptis nervosis necessariis accepit: Gratiasque haud multo post pro Judicio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ ab Episcopo Meldensi nomine totius Galliæ Cleri ad celeberrimum Nelsonum Armigerum primo discipulum semper amicum transmissas. Tandem studiis senioque pœne confectus a serenissima Regina Anna ad Episco-

He left behind him but two of those eleven children with which God had been pleased to bless him. His son Robert, at present rector of Tortworth in Gloucestershire, and prebendary of the cathedral church in the same county[f], married Rachel, the daughter of Edward Stephens, of Cherington in the county of Gloucester, esq. and of Mary, the daughter of sir Matthew Hale, late lord chief justice of the king's bench[g]. His daughter Bridget, since his death, married to Mr. Edward Adderley, son to the aforesaid Mary by a former husband[h]. 1710.

palem Menevensis sedem evectus est, quam cum ornaverat quatuor annos et quod excurrit, ad Ecclesiam Sanctorum in cœlo triumphantium translatus est, mensis Februarii 17^mo^ A. D. 1709, ætatis 75^to^, consecrationis 5^to^.

Hic quoque sepulta est Brigida uxor, mulier tam præclaro conjuge neutiquam indigna, stirpe sacerdotali orta, filia scil. Alexandri Gregory, A. M. Corinii in agro Glocestrensi olim per multos annos pastoris vigilantissimi. In memoriam utriusque suæque gratitudinis monumentum hoc pie erexit Josephus Stephens, A. M. A. D. de Brecon eorum gener, virtutum testis ac cultor (triginta amplius annos) observantissimus. Ob. 16^to^ Nov. A.D. 1712. *Jones.*]

[f] [He was also chancellor of Christ's college in Brecon, to which the prebend of Llanbister was attached: he held it from 1706 to about 1730. *Jones.*]

[g] [Their children were Edward Bull, of Tortworth, gent. (who left one daughter, Mary,) and Rachel who died unmarried. *Jones.*]

[h] [It has been mentioned at p. 399, that the bishop's eldest daughter Anne married archdeacon Stephens. One of their daughters married Joshua Wharton of Bristol; another married John Williams, vicar of Glazbury; and a third daughter married Walter Chapman, of Dunsborne in the county of Gloucester; whose grandson Joseph Chapman was president of Trinity college, Oxford, from 1776 to 1808; and his great grandson Mr. Joseph Parker is at present a most respectable bookseller in Oxford. Jones is inclined to think that one of the bishop's younger sons,

Bishop Bull's character.

And now that we have attended this very learned and pious prelate from his birth to the last period of his life, let us endeavour in a few words to recapitulate the dispersed excellencies of his life; and in running over his character, strive to copy the example of those eminent virtues, which in this pattern shine brightest for our imitation.

As to his stature, he was rather tall; and in his younger years thin and pale, but fuller and more sanguine in the middle and latter part of his age; his sight quick and strong, and his constitution firm and vigorous, till indefatigable reading and night studies, to which he was very much addicted, had first impaired, and at length quite extinguished the one, and subjected the other to many infirmities; for his sight failed him entirely, and his strength to a great degree, some years before he died: but whatever other bodily indispositions he contracted by intense thinking and a sedentary life, his head was always free, and remained unaffected to the last. He seemed framed by nature for considerable attainments, having all those faculties and dispositions of mind which are necessary thereunto, in as great perfection as most men ever enjoyed them. And that these rich endowments were not bestowed upon him in vain, his learned writings have demonstrated to all the world. In reading of books, his sagacity was such as that nothing could escape his observation; and as his reading was great, so his memory was equally retentive; he never kept any book of references or commonplaces, neither did he ever

who was not in orders, settled at Kington, or the neighbourhood, from whom the Bulls of Durfield were descended.]

need any: together with this happy faculty, he was blessed with another that seldom accompanieth it in the same person, and that was an accurate and sound judgment.

As to the temperature and complexion of his body, that of melancholy seemed to prevail, but never so far as to indispose his mind for study and conversation; in the latter of which he would be always more cheerful and pleasant, when the former had succeeded to his content. The vivacity of his natural temper exposed him to sharp and sudden fits of anger, which gave him no less uneasiness than they did to those persons who were concerned in the nearest offices about him; but those fits were of such short continuance, that the trouble was soon over, and the goodness and tenderness of his nature towards all his domestics, at other times and upon all occasions, made sufficient amends to them for it; besides, his natural passion was so far subdued by the power of religion, as that an evil word was never heard to proceed from him, even when he seemed to be most transported with it. He had a firmness and constancy of mind, which made him not easily moved, when he had once fixed his purposes and resolutions, which is no bad temper, when attended with such a true judgment as he was master of; but rather a virtue of nature, which many learned and good men have been defective in. His natural courage was a happy disposition for that supernatural grace of true Christian fortitude and magnanimity, in which he was very eminent, so that the frowns of great men in power could no more awe him, than popular clamours could shake his steadfastness.

He had early a true sense of religion upon his

mind; and though he made a short excursion into the paths of vanity[i], yet he was entirely recovered a considerable time before he entered into holy orders, and yet he was ordained priest at one and twenty. He was a very hard student for many years; and though he was not unacquainted with most parts of learning, yet he chiefly cultivated divinity, to which he had solemnly dedicated his studies. He so excelled in his profession, that he was justly esteemed one of the greatest divines of the age in which he lived, and that at a time when it abounded with great men. He officiated with great reverence and devotion in all the duties of his holy function. And when he instructed the people from the pulpit, he enlightened their understandings, and raised their affections towards heavenly things. He had a great love for souls, and a tender compassion for sinners, which made him never despair of their recovery, nor neglect such endearing applications as might bring them to repentance.

Amidst all those extraordinary talents with which God had blessed him, it never appeared that he overvalued himself or despised others. For though his natural endowments were of no ordinary size, and were wonderfully improved by study and application, yet his great learning was tempered with that modest and humble opinion of it, that it thereby shined with greater lustre. He abounded in works of cha-

[i] [He perhaps was thinking of himself, when he said, "Most "of us have sinned, or trifled away the best and greatest part of "our life, before we had well learned the art of living well; and "in that part of our lives committed such sins, as all our after-"piety, were it far greater than it is, can never of itself sufficient-"ly expiate." Sermon IX.]

rity even beyond his ability; and wherever he met with misery and want, they sufficiently endeared the object. The glory of God and the good of his neighbour were always uppermost in his thoughts. His actions were no less instructive than his conversation; for his exact knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and of the writings of the primitive Fathers of the Church, had so effectual an influence upon his practice, that it was indeed a fair, and entire, and beautiful image of the prudence and probity, simplicity and benignity, humility and charity, purity and piety of the primitive Christians. During his sickness, his admirable patience under exquisite pains, and his continual prayers, made it evident that his mind was much fuller of God than of his illness; and he entertained those that attended him with such beautiful and lively descriptions of religion and another world, as if he had a much clearer view than ordinary of what he believed. In short, *He lived the life of the righteous, and his latter end was like his.*

An account of bishop Bull's sermons and discourses.

LXXXI. All that farther remaineth is to lay before the reader some account of the sermons and discourses of bishop Bull, which are now printed and published; in which I shall endeavour to be the shorter, because their worth will appear very obvious to those who are the best judges; and the Life is already run out to so great a length, that it is very necessary to draw to a conclusion. As to the sermons, his son, Mr. Robert Bull, as hath been already hinted, had not only the bishop's leave, but his order to print them after his death; so that we may from thence conclude they had his last hand, and conse-

quently that perfection which belonged to his composures. The subjects are reduced to no dependence upon one another, in the method of ranging them; neither was it necessary, since it did not appear that they were framed with any such prospect. But the reader will quickly perceive, that they answer the proper end and design which ought to be kept in view in all such performances, which is to enlighten the understanding with the knowledge of some divine truth, and to dispose the will to a vigorous and steady pursuit of those things, which are necessary on our part to attain everlasting salvation.

The first use of the sermons, to inform us in some primitive truths.

There are some points handled in this collection, which, at first sight, and from a superficial view, may be thought to border too much upon curiosity; but if the reader brings that attention and seriousness which such subjects require from us, he will find that there are primitive truths, which have their proper use and advantage in the conduct of the Christian life.

The middle state of happiness and misery.

As for instance; he hath not only asserted, but plainly proved from the holy Scriptures, and the concurrent testimony of the catholic church in the purest ages, "That the souls of men subsist after "death, in certain places of abode provided for them "till the resurrection of their bodies; and that the "said intermediate state allotted to them by God is "either happy or miserable, as they have been good "or bad in their past lives[k]." Now as this is matter of great terror to all wicked men, who shall immediately after death be consigned to a place and state of irreversible misery, in a dreadful expectation of

[k] [Sermons II. and III.]

greater punishments at the judgment of the great day; so it affordeth abundance of consolation to those who die in the Lord, and are entered upon their rest; not a stupid, insensible rest, but a rest attended with a lively perception of far greater joy and delight than this world is acquainted with; in a comfortable hope of a large increase of happiness at the second coming of the Lord of glory. But if there was no other use to be made of this doctrine, but to guard us from the corruptions of popery, I should think it established to very good purpose. And certainly it appeareth very manifest, that if it was a part of the primitive faith to believe, that the souls of the best of men subsisted after death in separate places of rest and refreshment, and did not enjoy the beatific vision till after the resurrection of their bodies; I say, it is evident from this principle, that the foundation for the invocation of saints is perfectly overthrown; for they are represented to us by our adversaries, of the Roman communion, as seeing all things in *speculo Trinitatis*; and we are encouraged by them from that motive to offer up our prayers, and to make our addresses to the saints; so that if they are not admitted as yet to read in the glass of the Trinity, they have, according to this principle, no way of knowing those prayers which are made to them.

Again, if it be true that the souls of the righteous, being purified by the blood of the Lamb, do after death subsist in certain mansions of happiness till the resurrection; then what foundation can there be for any such fire of purgatory as is pretended, for the purgation of the spirits of the faithful, by the church of Rome? Or what grounds can there be for

that furnace, which she hath heated as necessary to purify almost all that go out of this life, though with the sign of faith; for a purgatory, the pains whereof are by many of her divines represented to us as equal to those of hell, their duration only excepted? or for such prayers for departed souls, as tend to supplicate their deliverance from a place of grievous torment? those of the ancient church being only for such who were at peace, and who rest in Christ; but they who are exposed to the pains of purgatory cannot certainly be said to enjoy those advantages.

The doctrine of the *eucharistical sacrifice.*

This learned divine had, in his answer to the bishop of Meaux's queries, asserted the doctrine of the *eucharistical sacrifice;* that it was an oblation of bread and wine instituted by Jesus Christ, to represent and commemorate his sacrifice upon the cross; and that its being representative and commemorative no more hindered it from being a proper sacrifice, than the typical and figurative sacrifices of the old law hindered them from being proper sacrifices; for as to be a type doth not destroy the nature and notion of a legal sacrifice, so to be representative and commemorative doth not destroy the nature of an evangelical sacrifice. He thought this doctrine plain from Scripture, and from the unanimous and universal tradition of the primitive church; nay, that it was not only her language, but her avowed and general practice, to offer up the bread and wine to God the Father in the Eucharist, as an oblation appointed by our Saviour Christ, to commemorate the oblation of himself upon the cross, and as representative of that full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world.

Now in his sermon concerning *the antiquity and usefulness*, &c. *of common prayers*[1], he observeth the wonderful consent of all the Christian churches in the world, however distant from each other, in the prayer of oblation in the Christian sacrifice of the holy Eucharist. He assureth us, all the ancient Liturgies agree in this form of prayer, almost in the same words, but fully and exactly in the same sense, order, and method. "Which," saith he, "whoever attentively considereth, must be convinced, that this "order of prayer was delivered to the several "churches, in the very first plantation and settlement of them. Nay, it is observable, that this "form of prayer is still retained in the very canon "of the mass at this day used in the church of "Rome, though the form doth manifestly contradict "and overthrow some of the principal articles of "their new faith. For from this very form, still "extant in their canon, a man may effectually refute "those two main doctrines of their church, that of "purgatory, and that of transubstantiation." The antiquity of this prayer of oblation is a very good argument, among many others, that the doctrine of the Christian sacrifice was taught to the several Christian churches in their first plantation, and consequently was in that scheme of Christian doctrines once delivered to the saints. Now as this notion of the Eucharist is founded upon Scripture, and runneth through all the great writers of the first three ages; as it is highly honourable to God, and no less comfortable to all devout Christians; so it hath this advantage, that it secureth us a bulwark against

[1] [Sermon XIII.]

those innovations of the Church of Rome which relate to this primitive doctrine. The popish sacrifice of the mass supposeth the oblation of the same body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ which suffered upon the cross, and consequently, that it propitiateth by its own virtue and merit; whereas according to the primitive doctrine, though the Eucharist be a proper sacrifice, yet it is only representative and commemorative of that sacrifice upon the cross; and it renders God Almighty propitious to us, only as it represents and communicateth the benefits of the great sacrifice; and consequently, as long as it is believed to be but representative, it is impossible it should be the thing itself.

If this doctrine had been more universally received among those who have reformed from the Church of Rome, there had not been such a stumblingblock laid in the way of those, who have been inclined to embrace the protestant communion. And I can assure my reader, from good authority, which hath been already quoted by considerable authors, that a person of great quality in France hath been kept back for no other cause from coming to the Church of England, but that he is told, SHE HATH NO SACRIFICE; to which his learned correspondent here, who is one of the French ministers, in answer assured him, that the bishops and clergy of the Church of England freely teach the doctrine of the eucharistical sacrifice, as it was taught and practised in the purest ages of the catholic church.

The doctrine of *angels*, and the uses of it.

Another subject, which our author hath treated with great accuracy and judgment, is the doctrine of angels [m], a most noble part of the creation; mil-

[m Sermon II.]

lions of which glorious creatures are not only subject to the Majesty of the divine empire, but are also instruments of his providence in governing the world, as well as bright examples set before us, to raise us to such a zealous service of God, as is performed in heaven. Their existence is proved from reason and Scripture, an account is given of their creation, and of the apostasy of many of them from the institutes of their great Creator. The nature of the holy angels, and their state and condition in regard to God, is fully described, as well as their office in reference to good men, being appointed by God as the ministers of his special providence towards the faithful; and farther it is shewn, wherein the angelical ministry for the good of the faithful doth consist; and how it is abused by those who apply to them as intercessors and advocates with God. The useful thoughts which arise from the consideration of this subject are awful apprehensions of the majesty of God at all times, but more especially in our solemn approaches to him; circumspection and caution in all our behaviour, even in our most secret retirement; great humility and reverence when we appear in his presence; a profound sense of God's great goodness to the sons of men, and of the happy estate of all the faithful; and lastly, diligence and zeal in serving the great God of heaven and earth.

The title of *Mother of God* asserted and vindicated.

In his sermon concerning the blessed Virgin, [n] he asserts and vindicates her peculiar title of THE MOTHER OF GOD; which was not invented by the Fathers of the third general council at Ephesus convened against Nestorius, but approved by them

[n] [Sermon IV.]

as what belonged to her, since it was the language of Scripture, and the style of the apostolical age. But he sheweth the true significancy of the appellation, by proving that this title doth not at all infer any right the blessed Virgin hath to our religious adoration; for the ancient doctors of the church, when they contested with heretics concerning it, designed not by that so much to advance the honour of the blessed Virgin, as to secure the real and inseparable union of the two natures in Christ; and to shew that the human nature which Christ took of the holy Virgin never subsisted separately from the divine person of the Son of God.

These instances are sufficient to convince us, that these sermons may serve us as a touchstone to distinguish primitive doctrine from modern errors which have been built upon them; and that we ought not to sacrifice truth to those abuses to which it hath been exposed.

The *second use* of the *sermons* is a *model* for *young preachers.*

The second use which I humbly conceive may be made of the sermons, is in reference to the candidates of holy orders, since if I mistake not, they are framed as a very proper model, both as to style and method, for their treating any subject of divinity: and it is of no small advantage to those who aim at any considerable attainment, to propose to themselves some excellent pattern for their imitation. His style is strong and manly, but yet plain and intelligible; he abhorred all affectations of pompous rhetoric, and yet expresseth himself with great spirit and life; his words seem chiefly chosen to clothe his masterly sense with clearness and propriety. The great aim of his sermons is to infuse into the hearts of Christians right apprehensions of the doctrines of

Christianity, and therefore he deduceth them from Scripture, and the purest ages of the church; and at the same time endeavours to make such an impression upon their minds, that they might pursue their duty with some warmth; which he doth with so much more authority by how much it appeareth that he was affected himself with what he delivered to others. But I shall not enlarge upon this subject farther than to recommend to the reader the following letter of Dr. Lupton, who hath handled this matter with great exactness. He preacheth at present one of the most celebrated lectures in London with such an universal approbation, that those who opposed his coming into that post declare themselves in the first rank of his admirers. This learned, judicious, and pious divine, was early formed under bishop Bull: the first-fruits of his ministry in the church were in the station of his curate, whereby he enjoyed all those advantages which he recommends with so good a grace to all other candidates of divinity; and the world now perceiveth the admirable use he made of such an excellent pattern, since he is thereby himself become a fit model for the preachers that are rising in this generation[o]. Besides, his intimate knowledge and acquaintance with bishop Bull's method qualified him to make the truest judgment of the excellency of his sermons, which was the reason of my application to the worthy doctor; upon which account I persuade myself I shall have the thanks of the judicious reader, when he shall have perused the answer which the doctor was pleased to write me upon that occasion.

[o] [Birch, in his Life of Tillotson, seems to hint that this high encomium was not merited.]

SIR,

Dr. Lupton's letter to Mr. Nelson, concerning bp. Bull's sermons.

YOU are pleased to demand my thoughts of bishop Bull. I do not remember any remarkable passage in his life, but what is already laid before you by other hands.

It is a great satisfaction to me, upon many accounts, that his sermons will be published, and particularly for this reason, that they will be, in several respects, an excellent model to be observed by young clergymen in writing sermons. He abhorred affectation of wit, trains of fulsome metaphors, and nice words wrought up into tuneful, pointed sentences, without any substantial meaning at the bottom of them. He looked upon sermons consisting of these ingredients, which should be our aversion, and not our aim, as empty, and frothy, and trifling, as inconsistent with the dignity of serious and sacred things, and as an indication of a weak judgment; for he was not so censorious as to imagine, either that the authors of them do seek the praise of men more than the praise of God, or that they do, out of vanity, attempt to make up the real want of good sense, by a shew of good words.

Indeed true wit, justly applied, doth deserve the utmost praise, in sermons as well as in other discourses: and yet there are many instances of wit, properly so called, to be found in sermons, which ought not by any means to appear there. In saying this, I do not reflect particularly upon the sermons of any one author, but upon this general rule, well known to every judicious clergyman, that whatsoever instance of wit, though pure, doth affect the imagination alone, or doth in any respect divert the mind from a religious disposition, ought not to be

admitted into religious discourses, because it is repugnant to the end and design of them, and prevents their proper effect. That which would justly challenge the utmost applause in common conversation, or upon the stage, may with equal justice be exploded from the pulpit. The proper use even of true wit doth require the very best judgment: and in both did this learned prelate excel, though he used the first very sparingly in his sermons; but the second was abundantly demonstrated in every one of them. For every one comprised the principal truths which belonged to the subject, and those were ranged into the most natural and easy order, illustrated with the utmost clearness, confirmed with the utmost strength of reasoning, and expressed in the most plain and significant words. And such a rich vein of *piety* did run through the whole, as would have rendered it acceptable and delightful to any man, who is sincerely religious, though it were not attended with those shadows of beauty and ornament, which are too often thought to be the best parts of a sermon.

Fineness of language and brightness of thought, so much talked of, are very agreeable, and highly to be esteemed, when they are enlivened and actuated by a spirit of *piety:* but when this is wanting, the brightest discourse will leave men void of *spiritual* understanding; for there is *natural* understanding, and there is *spiritual* understanding. A sermon may be very *ingenious* throughout, and therefore heard or read with all that kind of pleasure which *ingenious* writings are wont to give us, though it may not in the least contribute to the knowledge of any one religious truth, or to the regulation of

any one passion. And if another sermon is so happily managed, that it will answer one of the great ends of preaching, that it is apt either to inform the judgment, or raise the affections from objects which are earthly and temporal, to those which are heavenly and eternal; that ought to be accounted an excellent discourse, though it should not be adorned with artful turns of words, or other marks of wit, and accuracy of language; because every performance is more or less perfect, as it is more or less conducive to its main end. Those therefore who are censorious enough to reflect with severity upon the pious strains, which are to be found in St. Chrysostom, bishop Beveridge, or bishop Bull, may possibly be good judges of an *ode* or an *essay*, but do not seem to criticise justly upon *sermons*, or to express a just value for *spiritual* things.

I shall the more easily hope that you will excuse me for running such a length in these observations, because the foundation of them is laid in those thoughts which you proposed to,

Sir,

Your most affectionate,
humble servant,
WILLIAM LUPTON.

Nov. 25, 1712.

An account of bishop Bull's discourses. And the first, concerning the *blessed Trinity.*

LXXXII. As to those discourses which accompany the forementioned sermons, the first, relating to *the doctrine of the catholic church for the first three ages of Christianity concerning the blessed Trinity, in opposition to Sabellianism and Tritheism*, was drawn up at the request of a person of quality, a lord of a very eminent character[p]; who having seriously

[p] [Lord Arundell.]

considered that controversy at the time when it was debated between Dr. Sherlock, then dean of St. Paul's, and Dr. South, found himself not clear in the sense of the first and purest ages of the church, in reference to that great mystery. The method his lordship pitched upon to relieve himself under these doubts, was to apply to Dr. Bull, that great master of primitive antiquity; but his lordship having no particular acquaintance with the doctor, communicated his thoughts to his worthy friend Mr. Archdeacon Parsons, rector of Odington in Gloucestershire: this reverend clergyman, being a neighbour, and intimately known to Dr. Bull, engaged him to comply with his lordship's request, and to endeavour to give him that satisfaction, which he had hitherto in vain sought for. It is true, that the ill state of Dr. Bull's health did for some time delay that answer which his lordship impatiently expected; but as soon as the doctor's recovery gave him ability and leisure to apply his thoughts to that momentous subject, he drew up the short tract which is now published; and as soon as he had finished it, he enclosed it in a letter to Mr. Archdeacon Parsons, in order that it might be conveyed to my lord, which accordingly was done, with the letter which Dr. Bull wrote to the archdeacon upon that occasion. Which being communicated to me by the reverend Mr. Doughty, the lord's chaplain, I insert it in this place as a proper entertainment for the reader.

Avening, Aug. 3, 1697.

DEAR BROTHER,

Dr. Bull's letter to archdeacon Parsons.

IT hath pleased God to visit me ever since Easter last, till within these three weeks, or thereabout,

with an intermitting fever, which brought me so low, that my relations and friends almost despaired of my life. In all that time I was not in a condition to read or write, or so much as think of any thing that requires intenseness of mind; which is the reason why you have no sooner heard from me. I desired my son at Oxford to acquaint you with this a good while ago. I have now, though still in a weak condition, made a shift to recollect some thoughts concerning the matter proposed to me, which I have delivered in the papers now sent you. Which, when you have perused, and shall think them worthy of it, you may send to his lordship, (if it be not too late,) with my obedience and most humble service. His lordship seems desirous to go in a safe way, between the two extremes of Sabellianism and Tritheism. I have endeavoured to shew his lordship that middle way, the way which the primitive catholic church, guided by the holy Scripture, walked in. A way it was plain and easy enough, till in aftertimes it came to be overrun and perplexed with scholastic subtleties and hard terms, as with so many briers and thorns; and now of late to be ridiculed by some among us, men of little wit indeed, but less judgment, and yet of far less honesty; who may at the same rate (if they will give their minds to it) expose and explode all that is sacred, even whatsoever relates to the incomprehensible Deity.

What defects there may be in the writing I hope will be excused, seeing I was forced therein to make use of a raw youth, the bearer hereof. Whether you transmit the papers sent to his lordship or no, I desire you will take an opportunity of acquainting his

lordship with the condition I have been in, that he may not think me so rude as to neglect a person of his right honourable character.

I have a true desire to see you and discourse with you, especially about our sad and miserable church of Landaff: and if God permit, I will endeavour ere long to creep to Odington, if the busy time of harvest approaching shall not render my coming unseasonable. Writing is as yet troublesome to me; therefore, to my hearty prayers unto Almighty God for you and yours, I shall only add this sincere profession, that I am,

Dear sir,
Your very affectionate brother,
friend, and servant,
GEORGE BULL.

This discourse was received by his lordship with much satisfaction, as appeareth by the following letter, found among bishop Bull's papers after his death, and addressed by that person of quality to Mr. Parsons, rector of Odington.

Lond. Aug. 17, 1697.

MY GOOD FRIEND,

Lord Arundell's letter to Mr. Parsons.

MY being out of town is the reason you had no sooner my acknowledgment of the receipt of yours, with the enclosed papers, which have given me a great deal of satisfaction.

Had I been a stranger to Mr. Parsons's worth, and the ill usage he has met with in the world, it would have been more my wonder that so great and good a man as Dr. Bull should have lain thus long neglected. Pray let my thanks have the advantage

of being presented him by your hands. I am obliged to you for your kindness in inquiring after my son, who is now at Wolfenbuttel; and I hope will at last prove a comfort to him, who is eternally

Yours,

ARUNDELL.

P. S. I think the hinge whereon the great point of the Trinity turns, is the true stating of the distinction between nature and person, which I am so dull as to think is not clearly done by the bishop of Worcester.

The *fourth* discourse concerning the animadversions upon Mr. Gilbert Clerke.

The next discourse, concerning which the reader may be apt to require some information, is the *fourth*, which containeth *some Animadversions on a Treatise of Mr. Gilbert Clerke, entitled, Ante-Nicenismus, so far as the said author pretends to answer Dr. George Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith.* Now I must acquaint him, that the manuscript of these animadversions was found among Dr. Grabe's papers; and I was inclined at first to think that Dr. Grabe was the author of them, because he had undertaken to answer the treatise upon which the animadversions were made. But when I had carefully perused them, it appeared very evident that they belonged to Dr. Bull; for they are composed in his style and manner of writing, they every where refer to the *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, as his own, and the latter part of them is closed in his own hand writing: and what puts this matter out of dispute is, that Dr. Grabe is twice quoted in these animadversions, once under the character of *the most learned Dr. Grabe*, and another time as the author's *most learned and kind friend*; now no disguise could

have prevailed upon that modest humble man to have treated himself with so much respect[q]. All this, I think, is confirmed by a letter of Dr. Bull to Dr. Grabe, which was found among the papers of the latter, and is here offered to the reader, that he may make his own judgment upon it.

Avening, Jan. 25, 170$\frac{4}{5}$.

WORTHY SIR,

Dr. Bull's letter to Dr. Grabe.

I AM not able to express the grateful sense I have of your great kindness and condescension, in taking upon you the trouble of revising, correcting, perfecting, and adorning, with your learned notes, the new edition of my works, and particularly in your ready and voluntary undertaking an answer to the *Ante-Nicenismus*. If my poor labours hereafter prove useful to the church of God, a great share of the thanks due from men, and of the gracious reward of our good and merciful God, will be justly yours. I wish I were able to make you some sensible effectual requital. But my poor circumstances are such that I can return you nothing but my prayers to God, that he would reward you abundantly in this life, and that which is to come. The short notes and animadversions upon the *Ante-Nicenismus*, which I mentioned in my letter to Dr. Bray, you will certainly receive (if I live) this day sevennight; for I will send them by the post next Saturday. I wish they be such as your judgment may approve of. They are perfectly at your disposal, to do with them as you please. And if there be any thing in them, which may be of use to you

[q] [The MS. is now in the Bodleian library amongst Dr. Grabe's papers, and has been collated for the present edition.]

in your answer to the *Ante-Nicenismus*, I shall be very glad. Dear sir, farewell, and that God would bless and prosper you, and your labours, for the good of his church, is and shall be the daily and hearty prayer of

Your most obliged and affectionate
friend and faithful servant,
GEORGE BULL.

Mr. Clerke's answer to Dr. Bull, in behalf of the Unitarians.

The book which gave occasion to these animadversions was printed in 1695, with the title of *Ante-Nicenismus, or the Testimonies of the Fathers, who wrote before the Council of Nice, whence may be collected the sense of the catholic church touching the Trinity.* And at the same time came out a Latin answer also to Dr. Bull's *Defensio Fidei*, &c. both written by Mr. Gilbert Clerke, who published his name, as not being ashamed or afraid to own what he had written, because he took it to be the very cause of God, and of his *unity* against all sorts of Polytheists. These two treatises were accompanied by a third, without the author's name, called *The true and ancient Faith, concerning the Divinity of Christ, asserted, against Dr. George Bull's Judgment of the Catholic Church*, &c.

These [r] three tracts came out together, that so

[r] Tractatus tres; quorum qui prior Ante-Nicenismus dicitur; is exhibet testimonia Patrum Ante-Nicenorum, in quibus elucet sensus ecclesiæ primævo-catholicæ quoad articulum de Trinitate. In secundo Brevis Responsio ordinatur ad D. G. Bulli *Defensionem Synodi Nicenæ*, authore Gilberto Clerke, Anglo. Argumentum postremi: Vera et Antiqua Fides de Divinitate Christi explicata et asserta, contra D. Bulli *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, &c. per Anonymum, anno Domini, 1695.

the Unitarians might thereby take an occasion to boast of a complete answer in Latin to all that our author had hitherto written in this controversy; for it was about a year after that *the Judgment of the Catholic Church*, &c. had been printed, and received generally with great applause, that these were published.

The *Ante-Nicenismus* is not indeed a direct answer to Dr. Bull; for it may be doubted whether Mr. Clerke had ever once read the doctor's *Defence of the Nicene Faith*; or even so much as looked into it, when this book was by him compiled; but it seemeth to be chiefly in imitation of the *Irenicum Irenicorum* of Zuickerus and the *Nucleus* of Sandius, with a design to shew, if possible, the consent of the primitive writers before the determination of the council of Nice for the opinion which he had embraced. Now it appears, that after Mr. Gilbert Clerke had printed his *Ante-Nicenismus*, yet not improbably before it was published; and after that he had made some *additions* thereto, concerning Clemens Alexandrinus, from the Paris edition of his works just then come to his hands, by way of supplement to the said *Ante-Nicenismus*, or by way of introduction to that tract joined to it; which additions are therefore placed in the beginning of his *Brevis Responsio*; yea, even before any the least notice is taken of our author, or what he had written on that subject; Mr. Clerke being [s] upbraided by one of his

[s] Post hæc de Clemente Ante-Nicenismo addita procuravi mihi doctissimi viri D. Georgii Bulli *Defensionem Fidei Nicenæ*, quam totam diligenter perlegi, eoque diligentius, quoniam amicus quidam exprobavit mihi quod scriberem tali et tanto viro fere penitus inconsulto. *Brevis Respons.* p. 77.

friends for so rashly adventuring to write on this subject, without first consulting or examining well what so great a man as Dr. Bull had been able to say thereupon; then procured, as he saith, the doctor's *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, and carefully read it through, which he did purely from the recommendation of that friend, not upon any desire of his own for fuller satisfaction in this matter; he taking it for granted that Dr. Bull, in the last section of his *Defence*, which is concerning the *subordination*, had yielded great part of the question up to the Unitarians; and thence doth seem to have been perfectly unacquainted with the very book he had undertaken to answer, till he had finished the better half of his task; as may presently be seen by casting but an eye upon these two tracts, if that they may not rather be considered as *two* parts only of the same work.

The manner of Mr. Clerke's writing for the Unitarians against the doctor.

LXXXIII. After Mr. Clerke had read over Dr. Bull's book upon his friend's persuasion, he continued still firm to his former opinion, and not to be moved from what he had written; pretending that he saw not any reason why he should expunge so much as one line out of that collection he had made of the testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, from whence he had given it the title of *Ante-Nicenism*. Though he [t] acknowledged Dr. Bull at the same time to be far his superior in the writings of the ancient Fathers, and that he wanted neither industry nor sagacity, or acuteness, to read and judge of them as he ought, besides several other advantages that

[t] Brev. Resp. p. 78.

were possessed by him. Notwithstanding which he made no doubt, but that he should be able to defend what he had written, and to justify those testimonies which he had brought out of the Fathers, as depending upon the supposed goodness of his cause and the power of truth.

And he accuseth all the Trinitarians, both papists and protestants, for pretending to have all the primitive Fathers on their side in the article of the Trinity from the apostles downwards: but excuseth the Unitarians for being more modest in the matter, and commendeth them for the only persons who have ingenuity enough to own frankly that the ancient ecclesiastical writers do not so wholly agree with them. Nay, he sayēth, that these Unitarians are unanimously agreed to dispute against those primitive doctors even before the council of Nice, who took up their notions concerning Christ according to him, not from the Scriptures, but from their own imaginations, and from the philosophy in which they had been before instructed. And yet nevertheless he and his companions value themselves, that the doctors of the three first centuries were generally of the same opinion with themselves, as holding the Father only to be the most high God. However Justin Martyr cannot escape being pelted at (a certain mark he was not of the same opinion with them) for an innovator; nor indeed any of those whom he is pleased to name the *philosophical doctors*, who are here represented by him as the great corrupters of the Gospel, and introducers of paganism into the church.

Thus are the venerable doctors of the first ages of Christianity dressed up by him, so as they may be

exposed for weak and insufficient evidences of the Christian faith, and at the very time too, that an appeal is pretended to be made to their authority. For it is pretended by this writer, that these primitive divines, most of whom sealed with their blood that faith which they delivered down to us, were no better than half Christians; who had taken up their notions concerning the Son of God, not from Christ himself, or his apostles, but from their own fancies and the school of Plato; and that what they had been taught in the academy of this philosopher, was by them obtruded as matter of faith upon the people; to the fulfilling hereby the divine predictions in the mystery of the *great apostasy*, by their causing thus the Christian church to depart from the original simplicity of the faith. And moreover he boasteth that there were great number of the Unitarians, who lived near the days of the apostles, and were likewise esteemed great philosophers and mathematicians; the names of several of whom he reciteth, and they are either such as apostatized from Christianity to Judaism, or corrupted the Christian faith by introducing novel heresies, or having formerly denied the deity of our Saviour, returned afterwards to the orthodox communion, as did Natalis and Beryllus.

It is his opinion, that the doctrine of the Trinity, as explained by the orthodox, is a branch of [u] Montanism, and that Tertullian, after he had been instructed by Montanus, invented a *new rule of faith*, by which he laid the foundation of Athanasianism. Wherein he hath followed Schlictingius, who was

[u] Ante-Nicenismus, p. 23, 24.

the first that started this charge, and attempted to prove it in the [x] book he wrote against Dr. Meisner, an eminent Lutheran divine, concerning the Trinity, and other matters of highest importance. And hereupon he calleth Tertullian the [y] *new Trinitarian* with great indignation, and also the *father of the Trinitarians;* as if the Trinitarian scheme were originally nought but an enthusiasm of Montanus and his prophetesses dressed up by this his disciple. And that he might expose the divine economy of the ever-blessed Trinity, by which the Father is conceived as the fountain and original with respect to the Son and Spirit, for an enthusiastic jargon; he will allow our great defenders of the catholic doctrine in this point no better appellation than that of *our Fontanists and Montanists.* For, as he supposeth the Platonic and Arian Trinity to have been chiefly the innovation of Justin Martyr; so he fancieth the Nicene and Athanasian Trinity to have been principally derived from Tertullian after that he was infected with the Cataphrygian heresy; and that the doctrine particularly of the Son's *consubstantiality* with the Father, and the *coeternity* consequent from it, was taken up from the reveries of those fanatics.

But after all, Mr. Clerke would seem so generous as even to [z] grant to Dr. Bull both the *consubstantiality* and *coeternity*, if the doctor would rest satisfied therewith, and not level his darts, as he doth

[x] De S. S. Trinitate, de moralibus N. et V. Test. præceptis, ac disputatio adversus Balth. Meisner, vide Præfat.

[y] Multa id genus habet hic novus Trinitarius et Trinitariorum Pater. *Ante-Nicen.* p. 25.

[z] Brevis Respons. p. 100. and 78, 79.

every where throughout his book, against the Unitarians, for not owning Christ to be *the most high God*, and to have the same *numerical essence* with the Father; yea, he is content that his Unitarian brethren should not only acknowledge him as *God*, but as the *great God* also, and even as *God over all, blessed for ever*. Nay, he maketh no manner of doubt of their allowing him these titles: so that where any of these occur, either in the sacred writers, or in the primitive monuments of Christianity before the council of Nice, as applied to Christ, they shall make no scruple of receiving them, and freely using them with respect to him; but all this while continue as wide as ever from the sense the Trinitarians put on those words, who understand them in their proper signification. Whereas he will have them understood always *appellatively;* that is, in the same sense as angels and earthly princes have the *appellation* of gods. Thus Christ they will vouchsafe to own may be *called* so with respect to us, or as he is the *Christ*, or anointed of *God*, and *our Lord:* and that he is a *great God:* above all other made or called gods, and by reason of *that majesty and divinity which he hath obtained by the gift of God, being exalted to sit at his right hand*, may be esteemed *God over all*, and therefore by us *blessed for ever*. This is his short way to get rid of Dr. Bull's Fathers, but more particularly of Clemens Alexandrinus, who is very troublesome to him, and cost him much pains before this expedient was invented.

There is also one thing more remarkable in Mr. Clerke's answer, and is, I think, his own invention; at least he is very fond of it as such, for it runneth

almost quite through his book, and the main stress of his arguments against the doctor turneth upon it. This is the distinction of *high sense and low sense:* according to which, he hath laid it down for a foundation, that all the high expressions, which are found either in the Scriptures or the Fathers, denoting a divine and supereminent character, are differently to be understood; that is, they must always be taken by us in the *high sense*, when the Father is spoken of, and in the *low sense*, when the Son is meant. By the help of this distinction it was, he thought, easy for him to bear down all the testimonies, though never so plain, that could be brought against him by Dr. Bull, or any other. Let it suffice to have given this short account, both of his *Ante-Nicenism*, and his *Answer* to Dr. Bull; to whose learned and judicious animadversions, contained in the *fourth Discourse*, both in Latin and English, the reader is referred for his full satisfaction; though the whole scheme is so precarious and inconsistent, that it doth not appear capable of doing any great mischief.

Some account of the life and character of Mr. Gilbert Clerke.

This Mr. Gilbert Clerke was the son of Mr. John Clerke, schoolmaster of Uppingham in Rutland. He was admitted into Sidney college at Cambridge in the year 1641, being then scarce of the age of fifteen; seven years after this he was made fellow of the house, having taken the degree of master of arts. After three years more, being then about five and twenty, he received presbyterian orders, and his allowance in the college thereupon was augmented, as their statutes require for those who are ordained *priests*. The next year he was created proctor of the university. He left his fellowship

after the commencement 1655, refusing to take his degree of bachelor in divinity, to which the statutes obliged him. The reason of his retiring so from the college, and refusing to take that degree, was doubtless upon the account of his principles, of which he was much suspected, but never in the college convicted, as I could ever hear. His learning lay chiefly in the mathematics, but he was also esteemed a very good Grecian, and a great Scripturist. He chiefly consulted the modern critics, when he read the Bible, not omitting the Polonians, or else trusted to his own invention and sagacity in that part of divinity, without ever advising with the ancients, of whom he had a very low esteem. He thought the controversy between us and the church of Rome not worthy his study; because the errors of the papists seemed to him so gross and palpable, as not to need it. He betook himself therefore to read the Socinian writers, whence he became, in the main, a Socinian; yet he did not symbolize with them in their errors, touching the divine attributes; upon which account he would sometime say he was no Socinian. Some also, to whom he was personally known, have excepted the point of the *satisfaction*, for he seemed indeed to have had some particular notions of his own about this matter. He was a man of an open and frank disposition, but withal too bold, and easily to be heated; otherwise, the conduct of his life was sober and regular, not blemished with any remarkable immorality, but rather abounding with good works, which he earnestly pressed. He was very busy and zealous, in defending those new principles which he had taken up, and which the gross absurdities of the antinomian

system, then much in vogue, had probably contributed more than a little to fling him into. After that he quitted the university, he went and lived very retired in Northamptonshire, and his elder brother dying about that time, an estate came to him of 40*l.* a year, which was looked upon by his friends as a providential blessing to him, and prevented his wanting. He was, for certain, an excellent mathematician; his book upon Mr. Oughtred's *Clavis*[a] being much valued by the ablest judges in that part of learning. But it is the opinion even of some of his friends, that he was not so thoroughly versed in the Arian controversy, about which he engaged. It appears, that Mr. Clerke did not long survive this his answer to Dr. Bull; for within three years after the edition of it, I find his name and character in a certain [b]Socinian pamphlet, as some time before dead, with several others, who had maintained in this kingdom the cause of the Unitarians. The substance of that imperfect and anonymous tract, printed against Dr. Bull's *Judgment of the Catholic Church*, &c. will be found sufficiently answered in that book of the *Primitive and Apostolical Tradition*, &c. which Dr. Bull published against Dr. Zuicker, upon whose principles that writer buildeth very much; and which was the last of all the Latin works of our author, published in his lifetime.

LXXXIV. The *fifth* and *last discourse*, which is now printed, and entitled, *Concerning the first* The *fifth discourse* concerning

[a] [*Clavis Mathematica*, 1648: *denuo limata, sive potius fabricata*, 1652.]

[b] The Grounds and Occasions of the Controversy concerning the Unity of God, &c, 4to. 1698. p. 17.

the State of Man before the Fall, &c.

Covenant, and the State of Man before the Fall, according to Scripture, and the Sense of the primitive Doctors of the Catholic Church; was drawn up by our learned author many years ago, and, as near as I can guess, about the time that he was engaged in the controversy of *justification*[c]. It plainly appeareth, that it cost him a great deal of labour and study, and he seemed, upon some occasions, to express himself with some favour towards it. For having lent it to a certain person, whose name he had forgot, it was lost for many years, and recovered by the following accident. A neighbouring clergyman dying, Mr. Stephens, son-in-law to the bishop, bought part of his books, and among his pamphlets found this treatise, which he immediately brought to the author, who could not forbear declaring his satisfaction for the recovery of that, upon which he had bestowed no small pains. After this, it was read by some considerable clergymen in that neighbourhood, and at last communicated to his particular friend Dr. Fowler, the present lord bishop of Gloucester, in whose hands it had lain so long, that his lordship, when I applied to him upon that account, had entirely lost any remembrance of it. But he was pleased very readily to consent to the proposal I made, of having his manuscripts searched by some able and faithful person; this happily answered my expectation, and in a few days the manuscript was brought me, writ all in Dr. Bull's own hand, with which I was very well acquainted.

[c] [It was written not long before the publication of the *Examen Censuræ*, in answer to Truman's work, which appeared in 1671. (See p. 130.) The discourse was therefore composed between 1671 and 1675. *Examen, Append. ad Animadv.* 17, 6.]

Whatever sentiments I might have upon the perusal of this excellent treatise, I was unwilling to trust my own judgment in a matter of that nature, and therefore I immediately communicated the work to my very learned and worthy friend Dr. Hickes, that great master of ecclesiastical antiquity, and the most considerable reviver of primitive theology that hath appeared in our time. Though he is admirably skilled in other parts of useful learning, yet he hath laboured with great success in [d] untrodden paths, a certain mark of a great genius, whereby the utmost parts of Europe will have an occasion to celebrate his profound erudition. But he excelleth in his own profession, having built his study of divinity upon the holy Scriptures, and the primitive Fathers of the church, as the best expositors of those sacred writings; and hath thereby created such a regard to antiquity in the generation of young divines, that are now rising among us, that we may hope to see the next age preserved from the infection of those latitudinarian principles, which have too much prevailed in this. His readiness to communicate his knowledge draweth an application to him from men of the greatest figure for their talents, and renders his friendship a true and valuable blessing. But above all, the solid and substantial piety of his conduct maketh his example a constant instruction to those who live within the reach of it. It was to this excellent friend, that I proposed the perusal of bishop Bull's treatise, which I had recovered from the bishop of Gloucester. I am apt to think the ju-

Communicated to Dr. Hickes. His character.

[d] Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archæologicus. Autore Georgio Hickesio, S. T. P. MDCCV. fol. 2 vol.

dicious reader will be very well pleased with the method I took, when he shall have read the learned answer, which I received from that eminent divine upon this occasion, which is here inserted for his edification.

Hampstead, Aug. 5, 1712.

HONOURED SIR,

Dr. Hickes's letter to Mr. Nelson about bishop Bull's fifth discourse.

I THANK you very heartily for the entertainment I have had here in reading the enclosed manuscript, as well as for the great pleasure I had in reading the same author's most excellent manuscript sermons, when I was in Town. I have read it attentively twice over with the greatest pleasure; and I think it, both as to the learning and solid reasoning in it, equal to any thing that great man hath written in either language, and what, I believe, will be judged by divines as one of the best tracts among his remains, and as worthy as any of them of his great name. Before I read it, I was not perfectly convinced of the truth of his second proposition, viz. *That our first parents, besides the seeds of natural virtue and religion, and the innocence and rectitude wherein they were created, were also endowed with certain supernatural gifts, and powers infused by the Spirit of God; without which, their natural powers were of themselves not sufficient to attain an heavenly immortality.* I am not ashamed to confess, that, like many of my betters in divinity, I was not settled in the belief of this doctrine, before I read this discourse; but now I rejoice in my conviction of the truth of it: because, as the learned author observes, it utterly overthrows the Pelagian heresy, and shews the absolute necessity of divine

grace to fallen man; without which, it is impossible for him to attain that righteousness, which, upon Gospel-terms, is necessary to salvation.

The way he hath taken to prove the doctrine in his second proposition, will, I hope, convince all students in divinity, how necessary it is to read the ancient Fathers, in order downward from the apostolical age, and to shew the folly of those men, who either out of ignorance, or prejudice, or much worse causes, endeavour by their several ways to weaken the authority of those primitive divines, and bring their writings into contempt, because they cannot stand before them. Accordingly, the men who thus conspire, as it were, to blast them, are of several classes and sorts. Some speak and write against them out of malice, as the Pharisees spake against our Saviour and his miracles; I mean, those πρωτότοκοι τοῦ Σατανᾶ, *the deists*, and all other professed enemies and ridiculers of revealed religion, to whom the apostle himself would have said, *O full of all subtlety and all mischief, ye children of the Devil, you enemies of all righteousness; will you not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?* Others again speak and write against the Fathers, because their ancient writings are contrary to the heretical doctrines and schemes of these our modern Arians, Socinians, and Unitarians of all sorts, among whom I reckon the Quakers, who, as Unitarians, I cannot but observe, are qualified to make members of the society that I hear is now a forming, under the pretence of advancing Christianity. Next to these I may reckon the other sects among us, which I care not to name; but who are also against the Fathers, for no other reason, but because their writings bear

testimony against them. Just as Mr. Hobbes observes, if reason is against a man, a man will be against reason. But the adversaries of the Fathers, who are most to be deplored, are those who endeavour to depreciate their writings, merely because they are contrary to some opinions which they have had the misfortune to imbibe from the systematical, controversial, or other writers since the reformation. But, as the learned bishop saith, I hope the ingenuous among this sort of their adversaries will learn from his works, and particularly from this discourse, "*of the State of Man before the Fall*, the modesty "of submitting their judgments to that of the catho-"lic doctors, where they are found generally to con-"cur in the interpretation of Scripture, how absurd "soever that interpretation may at first appearance "to them seem to be."

Among these despisers and disparagers of the ancient Fathers are *those bold* (and I will add ignorant) *men to be found*, who, as this great divine speaks, *fasten this charge upon them*, namely, that they taught the same doctrine, which the church afterwards condemned in Pelagius, who asserted a sufficiency in man's natural powers, even in his lapsed estate, without the grace of God, to perform those things, which conduce to eternal life promised in the Gospel. Among our modern writers, he only mentions Mr. Baxter, for this bold and groundless assertion; of which, though the utter falseness doth so plainly appear, from what the bishop hath cited out of the Fathers, to prove his second proposition; yet for a farther vindication of those primitive guides, and lights of the church, from this unjust aspersion, as well as to vindicate the doctrine of *divine grace*,

and its antiquity, give me leave, sir, to present you with some clear testimonies to the contrary, out of a few manual companions, which, with some others, I seldom leave behind me, when I retire into the country.

I will begin with St. Clemens Romanus, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, Oxford edition, p. 16. §. 8. [p. 152. ed. Coteler.] Οἱ λειτουργοὶ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ, κ. τ. λ. *The ministers of the grace of God spake of repentance by the Holy Ghost*[e]. From hence I proceed, though a little out of the order of time, to Clemens Alexandrinus, in his book entitled, Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος, which was published at Oxford 1683, with an appendix of fragments added to it by the editor of immortal name, Dr. Fell, bishop of Oxford. The first testimonies out of him shall be those, in which he mentions the word ΧΑΡΙΣ, GRACE, as in his prayer or hymn (ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΟΝ) to God, in honour of his Master. Christ. p. 155, 156. [p. 313. ed. Potter.]

Ἄναξ βροτῶν μέγιστε, τῶν καλῶν δοτὴρ,
Ἐσθλῶν χορηγὲ,——
Αὐτὸς ζωήν τε τὴν σὴν ἀσφαλῶς ἀεὶ βιοῦν[f],
ΧΑΡΙΝ τε τὴν σὴν ἀσφαλῶς πάρασχέ μοι,
Ποιεῖν τε, καὶ τὰς σὰς λέγειν θειὰς γραφὰς,
Αἰνεῖν ἀεί σε, καὶ τὸν ἐκ Σοῦ* πανσοφὸν
Τὸν Σοὶ συνόντα καὶ παρόντα Σοὶ ΛΟΓΟΝ.

* This epithet is given to God by Philo, in his book *de Opificio Mundi.*

O sovereign Lord of mortal men, the giver and bestower of all good and profitable things, grant

[e] [This quotation is not really to the purpose: it should be translated, *The ministers of the grace of God by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost spake of repentance.*]

[f] [We should perhaps read αὐτός τε ζωὴν, καὶ καλῶς ἀεὶ βιοῦν.]

that I may live the life which thou hast given me in safety, and give me thy grace, *without blame, to practise and preach thy divine word,* (and) *always to praise thee,* and [g] the OMNISCIENT ΛΟΓΟΣ, who is *of thee,* who is coexistent *with thee,* and who is present *to thee.* So p. 41, 42. [c. 16. p. 944.] Οὕτως ἥδε τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος, δεῦρο ἀκολούθει Μοι. Ὁδὸς γὰρ αὐτὸς ἤδη τῷ καθαρῷ τὴν καρδίαν γίνεται· εἰς δὲ ἀκάθαρτον ψυχὴν, Θεοῦ ΧΑΡΙΣ οὐ παρεισδύεται. *So* (*presenting an humble and unprejudiced soul*) *he ought to hearken to our Saviour, speaking thus: Come, and follow me. For he is the way to him, who hath a pure heart; but into an impure soul* the grace of God *doth not enter.* The like expression hath that great Jewish divine, the author of the Book of Wisdom, [i. 4.] Εἰς κακότεχνον ψυχὴν οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται Σοφία. *Wisdom shall not enter into a malicious soul.* For the doctrine of *divine grace* was a Jewish, as well as a Christian doctrine, as may be easily proved from the Old Testament, and the Jewish apocryphal Fathers, as well as from the New Testament, and the Fathers of the most early times. But to return to the word ΧΑΡΙΣ; you know that, as well as *gratia,* it signifies a free or gratuitous gift, or benefaction, from whence χαρίζομαι signifies to give, or grant freely, as a benefactor; and therefore the word is used by Clemens in another place, to signify that spiritual strength and assistance, given by God to those who desire to be saved, which we call *grace.* Χάρις is also used for *grace* by an elder Father; St. Ignatius, in several of his Epistles, as in that to

[g] Or, him who is of thee, him who is coexistent with thee, and him who is present to thee, the omniscient ΛΟΓΟΣ.

the Magnesians. [c. 8. p. 19.] Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐδιώχθησαν, ἐμπνεόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ πληροφορηθῆναι τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας, &c. *For this cause, being inspired by his* grace, *they endured persecution, to persuade unbelievers that there is one God, who hath manifested himself by Jesus Christ his Son, who is his* eternal Logos, *not proceeding from silence; who in all things pleased him who sent him.* So in his Epistle to the Church of Smyrna, [c. 11. p. 37.] Κατὰ θέλημα δὲ Θεοῦ κατηξιώθην, οὐκ ἐκ συνειδότος, ἀλλ' ἐκ χάριτος Θεοῦ, ἣν εὔχομαι τελείαν μοι δοθῆναι. *But I was made worthy according to the will of God, not that I was conscious* (of any worthiness in myself,) *but by the* grace of God, *which I pray may be given to me in perfection.* So in the same Epistle, [c. 9. p. 37.] Πάντα οὖν ὑμῖν ἐν χάριτι περισσευέτω, *Let all things by grace abound among you.* And in the conclusion, Χάρις ὑμῖν, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, *Grace, mercy, and peace be to you.* So in his Epistle to Polycarp, [c. 1. p. 39.] Παρακαλῶ σε ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ, ᾗ ἐνδέδυσαι. *I beseech thee by the* grace *of God, with which thou art arrayed or endowed.* And in that to the Romans, [in tit. p. 25.] *I salute you in the name of Jesus Christ—who have been perfectly united in all his commandments,* (πεπληρωμένοις χάριτος Θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως,) *filled in unity with the grace of God.*

Among other Scripture senses of the word, it is certainly used in this for *grace,* as in 2 Cor. xii. 9. Καὶ εἴρηκέ μοι, Ἀρκεῖ σοι ἡ χάρις μου· ἡ γὰρ δύναμίς μου ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τελειοῦται. *And he said unto me, My* grace *is sufficient for thee, for my* strength *is made perfect in weakness.* And I think it cannot be taken in any other sense in such apostolical prayers as these, *The* grace *of our Lord Jesus Christ be with* Gal. vi. 18 Philem. 25

your spirit; which is the same as, *The Lord Jesus Christ* (by his grace) *be with thy spirit*, 2 Tim. iv. 22.

The next noble testimony for *grace*, which I shall produce out of my Clemens, is in p. 98. [c. 37. p. 956.] where he saith, that Christ took upon him the nature of man, and willingly suffered as man. Ὃν πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀσθένειαν, ὡς ἠγάπησε, μετριάσας ἡμῖν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἀντιμετρήσῃ. *That accommodating himself to our weakness, whom he loved, he might proportionably exalt us to his power.* So p. 90. [c. 34. p. 954.] Οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι πηλίνου τινὸς θησαυροῦ ἐν ὀστρακίνῃ σκεύει βαστάζομεν, δυνάμει Θεοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ αἵματι Θεοῦ Παιδὸς, καὶ δρόσῳ Πνεύματος ἁγίου περιτετειχισμένοι; for so I read it, instead of περιτετειχισμένον. *Being blind, and not understanding what treasure we carry in an earthen vessel, being fortified by the power of God the Father, and the blood of God the Son, and the dew of the Holy Ghost.* So likewise, p. 106. [c. 40. p. 958.] Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἀδύνατον ἴσως, ἀθρόως ἀποκόψαι πάθη σύντροφα, ἀλλὰ μετὰ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως, καὶ ἀνθρωπείας ἱκεσίας, καὶ ἀδελφῶν βοηθείας, καὶ εἰλικρινοῦς μετανοίας, καὶ συνεχοῦς μελέτης κατορθοῦται. *Though it be alike impossible presently to mortify the passions that are bred up with us; yet by the* POWER of God, *and the supplications of men, and the help of the brethren, and a sincere repentance, and continual care, they are rectified.* So p. 57. [c. 21. p. 947.] Ὁ δὲ Κύριος ἀποκρίνεται· διότι τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατον, δυνατὸν Θεῷ· πάλιν καὶ τοῦτο μεγάλης σοφίας μεστόν ἐστιν. ὅτι καθ' αὐτὸν μὲν ἀσκῶν καὶ διαπονούμενος ἀπαθείαν ἄνθρωπος, οὐδὲν ἀνύει· ἐὰν δὲ γένηται θῆλυς ὑπερεπιθυμῶν τούτου καὶ διεσπουδακὼς, τῇ προσθήκῃ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως περιγίνεται. βουλομέναις μὲν γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ταῖς ψυχαῖς

συνεπινεῖ. εἰ δὲ ἀποσταῖεν τῆς προθυμίας, καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ἐκ Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα συνεστάλη. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄκοντας σώζειν, ἔστι βιαζομένου· τὸ δὲ αἱρουμένους, χαριζομένου. *But the Lord answered,* What is impossible with men, is possible with God. *Which* (saying) *also is full of much wisdom, because the man, who strives and labours by himself to overcome his affections, profits nothing; but if he plainly is very desirous of it, and useth his utmost endeavours to attain it, he shall attain thereunto by the accession of God's power,* (or strength;) *for God inspires* willing *souls; but if they go off from their willingness, the Spirit of God, which was given to them, will contract itself,* (and return.) *For to save them who are unwilling to be saved, is the part of an agent that useth* force; *but to save those who choose salvation, is* (χαριζομένου) *the part of one, who freely and kindly grants his help.*

Sir, you cannot but observe here, that though the doctrine of God's ordinary grace is so clearly expressed in this passage, yet it is as plain against irresistible grace; for God, saith he, forces no man, but only helps the willing; according to that of St. Ignatius, *Epist. ad Smyrn.* [c. 11. p. 37.] Τέλειοι γὰρ ὄντες, τέλεια καὶ φρονεῖτε. Θέλουσι γὰρ ὑμῖν εὐπράσσειν Θεὸς ἕτοιμος εἰς τὸ παρασχεῖν. *As ye are perfect, so mind things that are perfect; for God is ready to assist you who are willing to do good.* But a plainer passage for grace, and against ordinary irresistible grace, cannot be found, than this which follows, p. 25, 26. [c. 10. p. 940.] (ΕΙ ΘΕΛΕΙΣ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ ΓΙΝΕΣΘΑΙ,) οὐκ ἄρα πω τέλειος ἦν. οὐδὲν γὰρ τελείου τελειότερον· καὶ θείως τὸ, εἰ θέλεις, τὸ αὐτεξούσιον τῆς προσδιαλεγομένης αὐτῷ ψυχῆς ἐδήλωσεν. ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ ἦν ἡ αἵρεσις

ὡς ἐλευθέρῳ· ἐπὶ Θεῷ δὲ ἡ δόσις, ὡς Κυρίῳ. δίδωσι δὲ βουλομένοις, καὶ ὑπερεσπουδακόσι, καὶ δεομένοις ἵν' οὕτως ἴδιος αὐτῶν ἡ σωτηρία γένηται. οὐ γὰρ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΖΕΙ ὁ Θεὸς, βία γὰρ ἐχθρὸν Θεῷ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ζητοῦσι πορίζει, καὶ τοῖς αἰτοῦσι παρέχει, καὶ τοῖς κρούουσιν ἀνοίγει. Εἰ θέλεις οὖν, εἰ ὄντως θέλεις, καὶ μὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐξαπατᾷς, κτῆσαι τὸ ἐνδέον, &c. (IF THOU WILT BE PERFECT.) *He was not as yet perfect; for nothing is perfecter than that which is perfect. And what was spoken by God,* if thou wilt, *shewed the freedom of the soul that discoursed with him. For man had a power of choosing, as he was free; but giving belongs to God, as he is the Lord. And he gives to them who are willing, and earnestly strive and pray; that in this sense their salvation may be owing to themselves. For God compels none; for compulsion agrees not with him; but he administers to them that seek, and bestows on them that ask, and opens to them that knock. If thou wilt therefore, if thou wilt in good earnest have what thou wantest, and doest not deceive thyself,* &c. These authorities, sir, weigh more with me, than all the authorities of modern writers, in behalf of irresistible grace; which you see as to *ordinary* grace at least, was not the divinity of the primitive times, though the doctrine of divine grace was.

You cannot also but observe, how many words are here significative of *grace*, as δύναμις, συνεπιπνεῖ, δοθὲν ἐκ Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα, and χαριζομένου, the word which, I told you above, my Clemens used in another place. Here is grace in various terms, and the Spirit of God the author of *grace*, mentioned together; and as for (δύναμις,) the Scripture word for *grace*, that is also in St. Ignatius, as in that passage of his

Epistle to the Ephesians; [c. 11. p. 14.] *Let me be always partaker of your prayers, that I may be found in the lot of the Ephesian Christians, who* τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνήνεσαν ἐν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *always were of one mind with the apostles in the power of Jesus Christ.* So in the conclusion of his Epistle to the Church of Smyrna; Ἐρρῶσθέ μοι ἐν δυνάμει Πνεύματος· *Farewell,* or *Be strong in the power of the Spirit;* and afterward, Ἐρρῶσθε ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ, *Farewell in the grace of God.* So in his Epistle to the Romans, [c. 3. p. 26.] Μόνον μοι δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθε, ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω, ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω· ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγωμαι Χριστιανὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὑρεθῶ. *Only beg strength for me, both from within and from without, that I may not only talk, but resolve; and not only be called, but be found a Christian.* So likewise in his Epistle *ad Smyrn.* [c. 4. p. 35.] Ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς μαχαίρας, ἐγγὺς Θεοῦ, μεταξὺ θηρίων, μεταξὺ Θεοῦ· μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ πάντα ὑπομένω, αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυναμοῦντος, τοῦ τελείου ἀνθρώπου γενομένου. *When we are near the scaffold, we are near to God, and all the while we are from the wild beasts*[h], *so long we are from God; only I endure all things for the name of Jesus Christ, to suffer with him, he strengthening me, who was made perfect man.*

Grace is also expressed by the apostle, by the word δύναμις, and ἐνδυναμοῦν, Ephes. iii. 16. *That he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory,* (δυνάμει κραταιωθῆναι,) *to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man,* Col.

[h] [Rather, *while we are in the middle of wild beasts, i. e. near to them, we are near to God.*]

i. 10, 11. *That ye might walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God*; (ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει δυναμούμενοι) *strengthened with all might, according to his glorious power, unto all patience and longsuffering with joyfulness.* So Phil. iv. 13. Πάντα ἰσχύω ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντί με Χριστῷ, *I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.* To which I may add, Ἐνδυναμοῦ ἐν τῇ χάριτι τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, 2 Tim. ii. 1. where both words are put together; *Thou therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Jesus Christ.* The next authority I shall produce for the divine grace is out of Clemens, and of the same nature with what I quoted before out of p. 90. it is p. 105. [c. 40. p. 957.] Τοῦτ' ἔστι μεταγνῶναι, *This is to repent, to grieve for sins past, and to beg forgiveness of God for them*; who only by *his mercy can make things done, as if they had not been done,* Ἐλέῳ τῷ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δρόσῳ Πνεύματος ἀπαλείψαι τὰ προημαρτημένα, *By the mercy which is from him, and the dew* (that is, the grace) *of the Holy Ghost, to wash away our past offences.*

To these may be added those testimonies, which speak of God and Christ and the Holy Spirit dwelling in us, p. 90. [c. 33. p. 954.] Σχῆμα τοῦτ' ἔστω ἔξωθεν ἡμῖν περιβεβλημένον, τῆς εἰς κόσμον παρόδου πρόφασις, ἵνα εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτο παιδευτήριον εἰσελθεῖν δυνηθῶμεν· ἀλλ' ἔνδον ὁ κρυπτὸς ἐνοικεῖ Πατὴρ, καὶ ὁ τούτου Παῖς ὁ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανὼν, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἀναστάς. *This habit* (of poverty) *with which we are outwardly clothed, is the occasion of our coming into this world, that we may enter into this common school; but the Father dwells invisibly within us, and his Son who died for us, and rose again with us.* P. 102. [c. 39. p. 957.] Ἄν τις τό τε

——ἢ δι' ἄγνοιαν ἢ περίστασιν ἀκούσιον, μετὰ τὴν σφραγῖδα καὶ τὴν λύτρωσιν περιπετὴς τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν, ἢ παραπτώμασιν, ὡς ὑπανηνέχθαι τέλειον· οὗτος κατεψήφισται παντάπασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· παντὶ γὰρ τῷ μετ' ἀληθείας ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ἐπιστρέψαντι πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀνεῴγασιν αἱ θύραι, καὶ δέχεται τρισάσμενος Πατὴρ υἱὸν ἀληθῶς μετανοοῦντα. ἡ δὲ ἀληθινὴ μετάνοια τὸ μηκέτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔνοχον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἄρδην ἐκριζῶσαι τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐφ' οἷς ἑαυτοῦ κατέγνω θάνατον ἁμαρτήμασι. τούτων γὰρ ἀναιρεθέντων, αὖθις εἰς σὲ Θεὸς εἰσοικισθήσεται. *If any one, either through ignorance, or unavoidable misfortunes, after baptism and forgiveness of sins, falls into sins and iniquities, so as to be entirely carried away with them; such an one is utterly condemned by God. But whosoever truly turns to God with all his heart, has heaven-gates opened to him, and the Father most gladly receives his penitent son. Now a true repentance is a care never to relapse into the same miscarriages, for which he has condemned himself worthy of death, but totally to root them out of his mind. For these being taken away, God will again* dwell *in thee.* This doctrine of the *moral shechinah*, or of God's and Christ's dwelling in righteous souls, by the Holy Spirit of grace, is also most clearly expressed by St. Barnabas in his Epistle, cap. v. p. 33. [c. 6. p. 19.] *Behold therefore*, saith he, *we are created anew, as the prophet speaks in another place; Behold, saith the Lord, I will take away from them* (that is, from those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw under the Gospel) *hearts of stone, and put into them hearts of flesh, because he was to be manifested in the flesh,* καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικεῖν, *and to dwell in us. For, my brethren,* κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας, *the dwelling place of our hearts is* ναὸς ἅγιος τῷ

Κυρίῳ, *a holy temple to the Lord.* And to the same purpose in another place, cap. xvi. p. 98. [p. 49.] *Observe how the temple of the Lord is gloriously built, and learn in what manner we, who have received remission of our sins, and put our trust in the name of the Lord, are renovated, or made new, and created again from the beginning. Because,* ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὁ Θεὸς κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν, *God truly resides in our* dwelling *place, that is, in us.* And again, Ὁ καὶ τοῦτον σωθῆναι, βλέπει οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνοικοῦντα, καὶ λαλοῦντα ἐν αὐτῷ. *He that desires to be saved, looks not at the man, but at him that* dwelleth *in him, and speaketh in him.* And, Τοῦτ' ἔστι πνευματικὸς ναὸς οἰκοδομούμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ, *This is the spiritual temple built to the Lord.* So in the second Epistle, for its great antiquity, attributed to St. Clemens. [c. 9. p. 188.] Δεῖ οὖν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ φυλάσσειν τὴν σάρκα. *It is our duty to keep the body as the temple of God.* And it is an allusion to this doctrine of the *moral shechinah*, or spiritual temple, that our Clemens, in the 46th page, [c. 18. p. 945.] saith, according to the doctrine of his colleague in the apostleship, *that no one shall be saved or perish, for having a beautiful or deformed body, but that he shall be saved who useth his body chastely, and according to the laws of God; but he that hath defiled the temple of God, him shall God destroy.* So St. Pacianus, bishop of Barcelona, in his *Paciani Parænes. ad Pœnit. Ne violaveritis* (inquit) *templum Domini, quod estis vos et de fornicatore apostolus dicit, qui autem templum Dei violaverit, disperdet illum Deus.*

How this supernatural principle of grace, and the Holy Spirit, the author of it, was in our first parents

before their fall, and how they lost it by their fall, and their sinful posterity, in and by them, and how we are restored to it by the Gospel, is excellently set forth by the same [i]St. Pacianus, in his sermon to

[i] Accipite ergo, dulcissimi, homo ante baptismum in qua morte sit positus; scitis certe illud antiquum, quod * Adam terrenæ origini præstitutus sit, quæ utique damnatio legem illi æternæ mortis imposuit et omnibus ab eo posteris, quos lex una retinebat; hæc mors in genus omne dominata est, ab Adam usque ad Moysen. Per Moysen vero unus tantum populus electus est, semen scilicet Abrahæ, si mandata justitiæ servare potuisset. Interea nos omnes sub peccato tenebamur, ut fructus essemus mortis; siliquarum escis et porcorum custodiæ destinati, i. e. operibus immundis, per malos angelos, quibus dominantibus, nec facere licuit nec scire justitiam. Parere naturalibus dominis res ipsa cogebat. Ab his potestatibus, et ab hac morte, qualiter liberati sumus, attendite. Adam postquam peccavit, (ut retuli,) dicente tunc Domino, Terra es, et in terram ibis, addictus est morti. Hæc addictio in genus omne defluxit: omnes enim peccaverunt, ipsa jam urgente natura, sicut apostolus dicit. Quia per unum hominem peccatum introivit, et per delictum mors, et sic in omnes homines devenit, in quo omnes peccaverunt. Dominatum est ergo peccatum, cujus vinculis quasi captivi trahebamur ad mortem; mortem, scilicet, sempiternam. Hoc vero peccatum ante legis tempora, nec intelligebatur, sicut apostolus dicit, donec enim lex poneretur, peccatum in mundo non habebatur, hoc est, non videbatur; ad legis adventum revixit. Apertum est enim ut videretur, verum frustra, quia id prope nemo servabat. Dicebat enim lex, Non mœchaberis, non occides, non concupisces, tamen concupiscentia cum omnibus vitiis permanebat: ita peccatum istud ante legem occulto gladio interfecit hominem, lege, districto. Quæ igitur spes homini? Sine lege ideo periit, quia peccatum videre non potuit, et in lege ideo quia in id ipsum, quod videbat, incurrit.——Et hæ sunt nuptiæ Domini *uni carni conjunctæ*, ut secundum illud magnum sacramentum, fierent duo *in carne una, Christus et ecclesia.* Ex his nuptiis Christiana plebs nascitur, *veniente desuper Spiritu Domini*, nostrarumque animarum substantiæ superfuso, et admixto protinus *semente cœlesti*, visceribus matris inolescimus, *alvoque*

* Clemens Alexand. lib. QUIS DIVES, &c p. 129. Va inquit, illis quia in via Cain abierunt. *Sic etiam peccato Adæ subjacemur secundum peccati similitudinem.*

the catechumens, who wrote before the Pelagian controversy troubled the peace of the church. *Hearken therefore, my dearly beloved, in what death man lies before baptism. Surely you know that old saying, that Adam was doomed to an earthly original, which condemnation put him under the law of eternal death, and all his posterity, who were all subject to one law. This death reigned over the whole kind, from Adam even to Moses. But by Moses one people only was chosen, namely, the seed of Abraham, if they could have kept the righteous commandments. In the mean time we were all held under sin, that we might be the fruits of death, destined to feed on husks, and to keep swine, that is, to unclean works by the evil angels, who being our rulers, we neither could do nor know what was right. The condition we were in, forced us to obey our natural lords. And now hear how we were delivered from these powers*

ejus effugi vivificamur in Christo. Unde apostolus: *Primus Adam in animam viventem, novissimus Adam in Spiritum vivificantem.* Sic generat Christus in ecclesia, *per suos sacerdotes*, ut idem apostolus: *in Christo autem ego vos genui.* Atque ita *Christi semen*, id est, *Dei Spiritus*, novum hominem alvo matris agitatum, et *partu fontis* exceptum *manibus sacerdotis* effundit, fide tamen pronuba. Neque enim aut insertus in ecclesiam videbitur, qui non credidit, aut genitus a Christo, qui Spiritum ipse non recepit. Credendum est igitur posse nos nasci. Sic enim ait Philippus, *Si credis, potes.* Recipiendus est Christus, ut generat, quia Johannes apostolus dicit, *Quotquot eum receperunt, dedit illis potestatem filios Dei fieri.* Hæc autem compleri alias nequeunt, nisi lavacri, chrismatis, et antistitis sacramento. Lavacro enim peccata purgantur, chrismate S. Spiritus superfunditur, utraque vero ista manu, et ore antistitis impetramus. Atque ita totus homo renascitur, et renovatur in Christo.

and this death. Adam, after he had sinned, as I have told you, *was doomed to death by the Lord, who said,* Earth thou art, and to earth thou shalt return. *This condemnation descended upon all his posterity: for* (sinful) *nature now urging, all men sinned,* as the apostle saith; For by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned. *Sin therefore had dominion over us, and we were dragged in his chains, as captives to death, I mean to death eternal. But neither was this sin understood before the times of the law, as the apostle saith;* for until the law was given, sin was not in the world; *that is, it was not discerned,* (but) *revived when the law came. It was then manifested, that it might be seen, but in vain, because almost none kept the law.* For the law said, *Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not covet; yet concupiscence, with all the vices attending it, remained. Thus sin slew man before the law with a hidden sword, under the law by a drawn one. What hope then had man? Without the law he perished, because he could not see sin, but under the law, because he ventured upon what he did see.——And this is the marriage of the Lord with one flesh, that according to that great mystery, two might become one flesh, Christ and the church. Of this marriage the Christian people are born,* the Spirit of the Lord coming down from above, *being poured forth upon the substance of our souls,* the heavenly seed *being also mixed with it, we grow in the belly of our mother, and being delivered from her womb, are quickened in Christ. Whence the apostle saith,*

The first Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam a quickening spirit. *Thus Christ begets in the church* by his priests, as the same apostle saith; But I have begotten you in Christ. And thus Christ's seed, that is, God's Spirit, furnishes out the *new man who was prepared in the womb of his mother, and received from the birth of the font* by the hands of the priest, *yet by the assistance of faith. For neither will he seem to be admitted into the church who has not believed, or to be begotten by Christ who has not received the Spirit.* We must therefore believe that it is possible for us to be born. For so said Philip, If thou believest, thou mayest. *Christ is to be received, that he may beget, because the apostle John saith,* As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God. *But these things cannot be accomplished otherwise than by the sacrament of baptism, and chrism, and the bishop. For they are purged from sin by baptism; by chrism the Holy Ghost is shed upon them; and both these we obtain by the hand and mouth of the bishop. And so the new man is born again, and is renewed in Christ.*

Feb. 3, 1714.

HONOURED SIR,

WHAT you see here in the beginning of this sheet, is the passage of St. Pacian continued from the end of the last. It happened to be preserved in a loose paper, into which it was transcribed for me out of that Father's works, and from thence copied over again in the sheets which were burnt in the sudden devouring fire, that by night consumed, in most dreadful manner, the printer's dwelling-house

and warehouses, and all that he had therein [k]. It is no little trouble to me to think, that I, who ought to deny you nothing, cannot comply with your desire in repairing what is lost in the burnt copy. Neither the short time the bookseller hath taken to publish your most excellent Life of the Bishop, nor my ill condition of health, will now suffer me to undergo such a labour, which were I able to endure, I should undertake with mighty pleasure, to testify thereby the great desire and many obligations I have to serve you, in whose conversation and friendship I have been very happy for so many years. There were too many particulars in the lost sheets for me to repair at this time, with the same pains and study as I formerly did. If you can but remember the half of them, you will, I am sure, excuse me: pray, sir, do but recollect upon how many subjects I was invited to discourse upon this very citation of St. Pacian, concerning the way whereby fallen man recovers the supernatural principle of the Spirit of God, by which we are regenerated and made *new men*. If you can remember no more than what from thence I discoursed on the subject of the *moral shechinah* from the New Testament, and the Book of Wisdom; of receiving the Spirit by

[k] [This fire took place in Bowyer's printing-house, Jan. 29, 1713. Nelson's Life of Bull and the works which accompanied it had been all printed, or nearly so, in 1712. This fire consumed the whole of the Life, and one thousand copies of eighteen sheets of the Works. There is an advertisement of Bowyer extant, dated Feb. 13. in which he expresses his hopes to reprint the lost part in a fortnight's time: but it appears from the letter of Dr. Hickes, that what he had written was irrecoverably lost. *Nichols's Anecdotes*, vol. i. p. 55. &c.]

the ministration and prayer of the priest or bishop in baptism, and by the imposition of the bishop's hands, and by chrism, and in discoursing of which I gave you my reasons, for which I thought it a rite of the apostolical age, and wished it restored to the church: if you can also call to mind what I was invited to write of the dignity of the episcopal office, and ministry, from St. Pacian's words in [1] the margin, and what I wrote of repentance, by which we recovered the Spirit again, when we had lost it by *deadly sin* after baptism and confirmation, I hope you will discharge me from the labour of making my discourses upon them again. And if you can remember what I wrote on the fourth or second apocryphal book of Esdras, upon observing how the learned bishop passed over the testimonies and authorities of it, both in the enclosed MS. and in his sermon of the *middle state*; and also can call to remembrance the most clear testimonies I collected from my little book of Clemens, concerning the *holy and blessed Trinity*, and the *eternal generation of the Son, begotten not made*; and his equality in essence with the Father, and of the deity of the Holy Ghost, which were not observed by the bishop, neither in his *Fidei Nicenæ Defensio*, nor in his answer to Gilbert Clerke, nor by Dr. Grabe in his additions to the former book: I doubt not then, sir, but you will, both in kindness and justice, excuse me from the pains of recomposing, and collecting

[1] Sic generat Christus, per suos sacerdotes. Hæc autem alias compleri nequeunt nisi lavacri, chrismatis, et antistitis sacramento. Lavacro enim peccata purgantur, chrismate S. Spiritus superfunditur, utraque vero ista manu et ore antistitis impetramus.

again, being not in a condition to study, and bear intense thinking. But were I able to do what you desire, the consideration of serving you would make the pains my greatest pleasure. But under the disability I now am, I am sure, sir, your candour and tender regard for me will oblige you to accept the good-will for the deed, and the desire to serve you for the performance, from

Your much obliged
and humble servant,
GEO. HICKES.

LXXXV. The sum and substance of the *fifth discourse* is, that there was a covenant of life made with man in his state of innocency, and not, as some pretend, a law imposed upon him, established only by a threatening. For the prohibition given to Adam concerning the not eating of the tree of knowledge, is ushered in with this express donation or grant of God, that he might freely eat of all the rest of the trees in paradise, the tree of life not excepted. Now it is certain, the tree of life was so called, because it was either a sacrament and divine sign, or else a natural means of immortality. And the very commination itself, *in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die*, manifestly implies a promise; this consequence being most firm, God threateneth death to man if he eat of the forbidden fruit; therefore he promiseth life if he do not eat. A full state and resolution of this matter is given by our author from Grotius, in his approved book, *de Satisfactione*, &c. The foundation being thus laid in the proof that Adam should never have died if he had not sinned, and that if he had continued obedient, he should have enjoyed an everlasting life;

The sum and substance of the *fifth discourse*.

he thinks it easy to collect from thence, that this life should not, nay could not, in any congruity, be perpetuated in the earthly paradise, and that therefore the man was in the design of God, after a certain period of time, to have been translated to a higher state, that is, a celestial bliss; and that it farther readily follows, that man, being thus designed for such a supernatural end, must be supposed gradually at least to have been furnished by God with means proportioned thereunto, which were certain supernatural gifts and powers which we commonly call *original righteousness*. The sense of the church of God upon this subject he reduceth to two propositions, which, he says, were constantly asserted and believed by the primitive Fathers.

I. "That paradise was to Adam a type of heaven; "and that the never-ending life of happiness which "was promised to our first parents, if they had con- "tinued obedient, and had grown up to perfection "under that economy wherein they were placed, "should not have continued in the earthly paradise, "but only have commenced there, and been per- "petuated in a higher state; that is to say, after "such a trial of their obedience, as should seem "sufficient to the divine wisdom, they should have "been translated from earth to heaven."

II. "That our first parents, besides the seeds of "*natural virtue* and religion sown in their minds "in their very creation, and besides the natural "innocence and rectitude wherein also they were "created, were endowed with certain gifts and "*powers supernatural*, infused by the Spirit of "God, and that in these gifts their perfection con- "sisted."

Now because these two theses seemed to him the

two main pillars of the catholic doctrine concerning original sin, he giveth an ample demonstration of them out of the writings of the ancients.

The first thesis is confirmed by the testimonies of Justin Martyr, Tatian, Irenæus, Theophilus bishop of Antioch, Clemens of Alexandria, Tertullian, Methodius, St. Athanasius, St. Basil, all which authors lived before the rise of Pelagianism, which makes their testimonies the more considerable. Nay, the ancient primitive church was so certain of this truth, that she inserted the article into her public offices and prayers, as appeareth from the prayer of consecration of the eucharist, in the Liturgy of Clemens, in these words concerning Adam: [m] *When thou broughtest him into the paradise of pleasure, thou gavest him free leave to eat of all the other trees, and forbadest him to taste of one only* FOR THE HOPE OF BETTER THINGS; *that, if he kept the commandments, he might receive* IMMORTALITY, *as the reward of his obedience.* This Liturgy is the most ancient now extant, and certainly older than the Pelagian heresy, by one whole age at least. It is confessed, that the doctors of the church, who flourished after the Pelagian heresy was broached, all maintained the same hypothesis; yet, for fuller satisfaction, testimonies are produced from St. Austin, Prosper, Fulgentius, and Petrus Diaconus, who are known to have been the chiefest antagonists of Pelagius. These allegations are brought forth, not only upon the account of their authority, but for the sake of those evident reasons, which those ancient writers urged for the demonstration of the point asserted.

[m] Const. Apost. lib. viii. cap. 12.

The second thesis he advanceth as a consequent of the former, for the means ought to be proportioned and suited to the end. If therefore our first parents had been designed only for an earthly felicity, a supernatural gift would have been useless, or at least unnecessary to them; and so on the contrary, if they were designed for a celestial bliss, it necessarily followeth, that they were furnished with powers suited to the obtaining of such a supernatural end. But because this latter thesis is chiefly questioned by learned men, he proveth this assertion from the writings of the ancients, and that somewhat more copiously than he had done the former. The testimonies he useth to this purpose are those of Justin Martyr, Tatian, Irenæus, the author of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, the author of the five dialogues among the works of Athanasius, St. Athanasius himself, the great Basil, St. Cyril, St. Ambrose, St. Hierom, St. Austin, Prosper, and, lastly, Fulgentius. After this, he fully answers an objection made by the Socinians, in order to weaken the credit and authority of these testimonies; for they placing the likeness and image of God, after which the first man is said to be created, only in his dominion over the other creatures in this visible world, do endeavour effectually to destroy that notion of God's image, which runs through all the testimonies that are produced, and which those Fathers made to consist especially in those supernatural powers, gifts, or graces, wherewith they suppose him to be furnished in his creation. And that these supernatural perfections were a chief part of the image of God, after which the first man is said to be created, is not the fancy of Christian writers,

but was a notion received and acknowledged in the Jewish church many years before our Saviour's appearance in the flesh; as is manifest from the author of the Book of Wisdom, and from Philo the Jew, who bordered upon the very age of our Saviour's incarnation. Though if we should lay aside that reverence which is due to so consentient a judgment of the church of God, both before and after Christ, yet the apostle St. Paul hath evidence sufficient, if well considered, to set us right in this point.

Moreover farther, he answereth an objection made by Grotius, against this doctrine of the primitive Fathers; and in vindication of them, he proposes himself some arguments taken from the history of the primitive state of the first man, as it is delivered by Moses himself, which, if not demonstrative, are yet far more considerable than any thing that hath been produced in defence of the contrary novel opinion. He then proceeds to shew the great use of this doctrine, in three considerable instances, viz. First, In determining the nature of that original righteousness, which was the happy portion of the protoplast. Secondly, In evincing the absolute necessity of divine grace in man fallen, in order to the performance of that righteousness which is required unto his salvation. Thirdly, In assuring us how unjust that charge is which some bold men have fastened on all the Christian writers before Pelagius, especially on those who flourished within the three first centuries; namely, that they held the same doctrine which was afterwards condemned by the church as heretical in Pelagius, asserting a sufficiency of man's natural powers in his lapsed estate, without the grace of God, to perform those things which

conduce to eternal life: and with these three uses our author concludeth this excellent treatise.

The conclusion of the whole.

I have nothing more to add but my earnest prayers to God, that, since he hath by his grace enabled me to bring this work to a conclusion, he would farther vouchsafe, by his blessing, to make it instrumental towards the promoting his honour and glory in the world. That it may in some measure tend to revive that truly commendable zeal, for which the first ages of Christianity were so deservedly famous; "when they that were baptized continued stead-"fastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in "breaking of bread, and in prayer; praising God, "and doing good to all men."

TO THE MOST HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY, GOD THE FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST, BE ASCRIBED ALL HONOUR AND GLORY, ADORATION AND WORSHIP, BOTH NOW AND FOR EVER. AMEN.

December 31, 1712.

END OF THE LIFE.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

IN THE

LIFE OF BISHOP BULL.

	A. D.	Page.
Born at Wells, March 25th	1634	5
Went to School at Wells		7
——————Tiverton		8
Entered at Exeter College, July 10th	1648	9
Retired to North Cadbury		14
Removed to Ubley	1653	19
Ordained	1655	23
Presented to St. George's, near Bristol		25
Married	1658	38
Presented to Suddington St. Mary	1658	41
—————————— St. Peter	1662	44
Published the *Harmonia Apostolica*	1669	79
——————*Examen Censuræ*	1675	127
Made Prebendary of Gloucester	1678	239
Published the *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*	1685	242
Presented to Avening	1685	298
Appointed archdeacon of Llandaff	1686	302
Took the degree of D.D.	1686	307
Published the *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*	1694	314
Latin works edited by Grabe	1703	342
Made bishop of St. David's	1705	347
Died	1710	404

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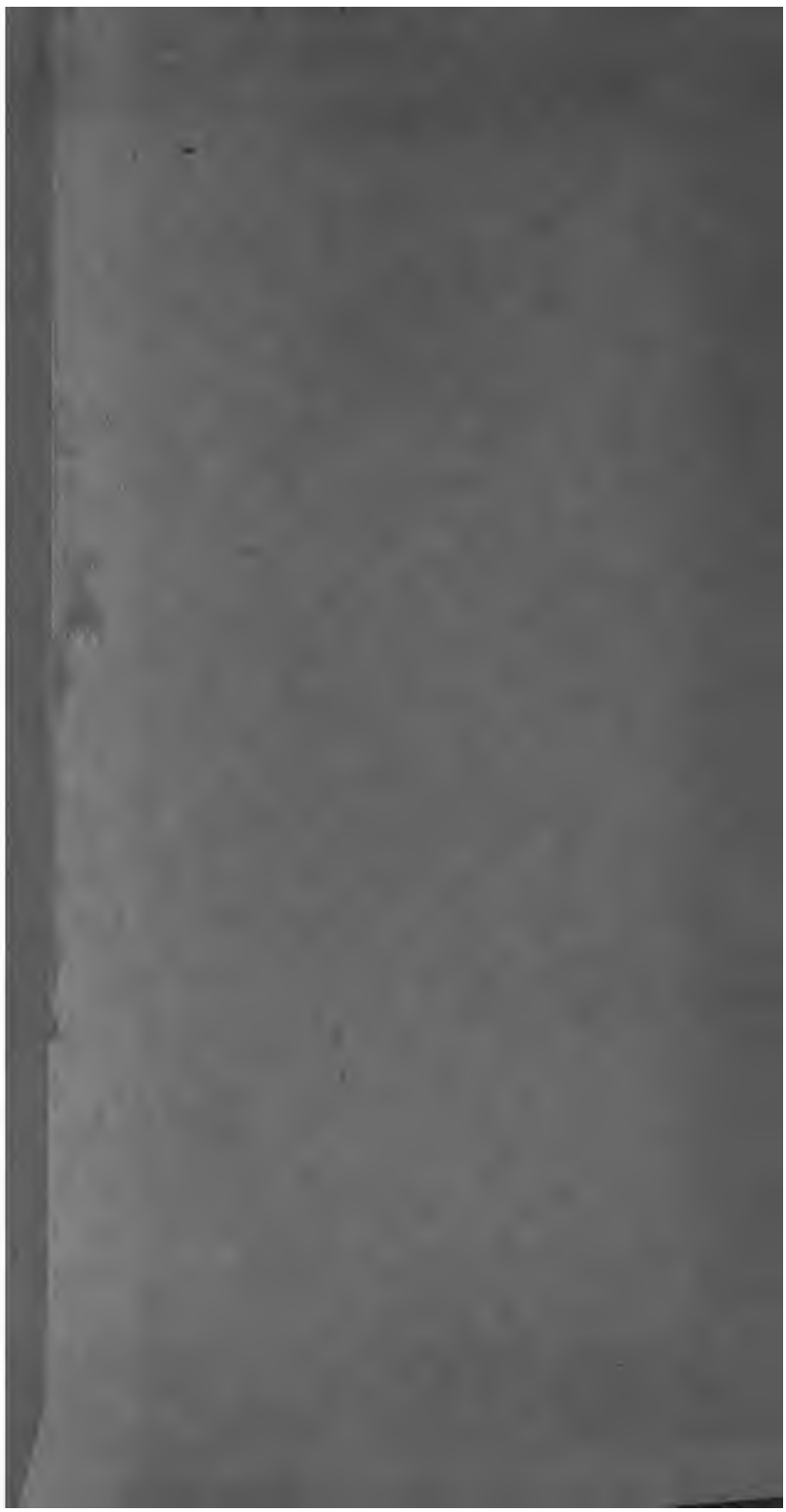
ERRATA.

P. 219. line 18. *read* as to.
P. 416. note, *for* II. *read* XI.
P. 438. note, line 3. *for* p. 130. *read* p. 141.
P. 444. line 7. *for* ἥδι *read* ἥδη.
P. 451. line 8. *for* τίλιεον *read* τίλιον.
P. 453. in marg. *for* Va *read* Væ.

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